



THE MIRROVR
OF VERTVE
in Worldly Greatnes.

OR
THE LIFE OF SYR
Thomas More Knight,
sometime Lo. Chancellour
of England.

AT PARIS.
MDC. XXVI.



TO
THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE
THE LADY
ELIZABETH
COUNTESS OF
BAMBVRY, &c.



RIGHT Ho-
nourable,
It vvas my
good happe
not longe since, in a
★ Friends

The Epistle

Friends House, to light
vpon a brieft History of
the Life, Arraignement,
and Death of that *Mir-*
rou of all true Honour,
and Vertue *Syr Thomas*
More, vvho by his Wis-
dome, Learning, & San-
tity, hath eternized his
Name, Coûtrey, & Pro-
fession, throughout the
Christian World, vvith
immortall Glory, and
Renovvne.

Finding, by perusall
ther-

Dedicatory.

therof, the same replenished
with incōparable Treasures,
of no lesse Worthy, and most Chri-
stiā Factes, then of Wise,
& Religious Sentences,
Apophthegmes, & Say-
ings; I deemed it not
only an error to permit
so great a light to ly bu-
ried, as it vvere, vvithin
the vvalls of one priuate
Family: but also iudged
it vvorthy the Presse, euē
of a golden Character (if

The Epistle

it were to be had) to the end, the vvhole World might receaue comfort and profit by reading the same.

Having made this Resolution, a Diffieultie presented it selfe to my Thoughts, vnder vvhose Shaddovv, or Patronage I might best shelter the Worke: vnto vv^{ch} strife,
Your *LADISHIT*,
occurring to my cogitations, put an end, vvith
the

Dedictory.

he BEAMS of your
ld WORTH, & HO-
ort NOUR, so dazeling my
he yes, as I could discerne
one other more Fit, or
e- Worthy to imbrace, &
tic protect so Glorious and
ny Memorable Examples.

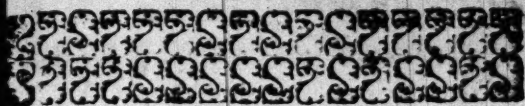
Of vvwhose GOOD-
ge NES I am so confidēt,
he that vvithout further de-
se, late, I iudge, this Enter-
P, change of Friendshippe
ta- may vvorthily be made
ith etvvene the SAINT

the * 3 and

The Epistle
and Y O U. Y O U (Ma-
dame)shal Patronize his
H O N O V R heere on
Earth;and *H E*, shall be-
come a Patrone, and In-
tercessour for Y O U in
Heauen.

By him, that am your
Ladships profes-
sed Servant.

T. P.



THE PREFACE of the Authour.

FORASMUCH, as Syr
Thomas More Knight, some-
times Lord Chancellour of
England, a *Man of singular Ver-*
ue, and of an unspotted Conscience;
& (as witnesseth Eraſmus) more
pure, and white then ſnowe: of
ſo Angelicall a Wit (ſayth he)
that England neuer had the like
before, nor euer ſhall againe: A
Man (I ſay) vniuerſally well ſtudied,
not only in the Lawes of our owne
Realme (a Study able to occupy the
whole life of a man) but alſo in all o-
ther Sciēces both Humane & Diuine;
was in his owne dayes (& much more

de.

deseruedly in these) esteemed worthy
of perpetuall Memory: I William
Roper his most unworthy Sonne-in-
law (by Marriage of his eldest Daugh-
ter) knowing no man living
this day, able to speake more of his
Life and Conuersation, then my self
who was continually resident in his
House for the space of sixteene ye-
res and more; haue at the request of
diuers worthy friends, put downe
wryting, such thinges, touching the
same, as I can at this present well call
to remembrance (hauing through my
negligence, forgotten many other ve-
ry notable passages therof) to the end
that all should not utterly perish
posterity. The which I haue heere per-
formed, to my ability, in a playne and
bumble style; leauing the same as a
subiect to a more skillfull, and exqui-
site Pen, when Tyme, and Occasion
shall offer themselues, to dilate therof

THE



THE LIFE OF

Syr Thomas More.

SYR Thomas More was borne in London of worshipfull Parents. His Father was a Student of *Lincolnes Inne*, and brought him vp in the Latin-tongue, at *S. Antonyes Schoole* in London, who was very shortly after, by his Fathers procurement, receiued into the house of that Worthy, and Learned Prelate, *Cardinall Morton*; where
A though

though he was but younge in
 yeares, he would in the tyme of
 Christmas, suddainly steppe in
 amongst the Players, and there
ex tempore, without any study
 of the Matter, or least stay, or
 stammering in his speech, make
 a part of his owne present wit,
 amongst them: which was more
 delightfull, and pleasing to the
 Nobles, & Gentlemen that vsed
 to be at Supper with the *Cardi-
 wall*, then all the premeditated
 parts of the Players.

This *Cardinall* tooke more
 delight in his wit, and toward-
 nes, then he did of any other
 temporall Matter whatsoever;
 & would often say of him, vn-
 to diuers of his familiar friends,
 who vsed dinner & supper with
 him: *This Child beere, wayting at*
the

Syr Tho. More

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the table, whosoever shall line to see
it, will proue a mervailous Man.

And for his better furtherance in learning, he placed him at *Oxford*; where when he was well instructed in the Greeke & Latyn tongues, he was then, for the Cōmon Lawes of the kingdom, put to an Inne of Chancery, called *New Inne*; where in small tyme he profited so well, that he was from thence admitted into *Lincolnes Inne*, with very small allowance; continuing there his study, vntill he was made Barrister.

After this, to his high Commendations, he read for a good space, a publique Lecture of *S. Augustine de Cinitate Dei* in the Church of *S. Laurence* in the Old Iewry in *London*, wherunto re-

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sorted

4 *The Life of*
forted one Doctor *Corsin*, an excellent Scholler, and a great Deuine, and all the chiefe learned in, and about the Citty of *London*.

Then was he made Reader of *Furniualls* Inne, where he remayned for the space of aboute three yeares; and then he gaue himselfe wholly to deuotiō & prayer in the Charter-house at *London*, lyuing there Religiously foure yeares without vow; during which tyme he often resorted to the house of one *M. Colt* (a Gentleman in *Essex*) who vfed many tymes to inuite him thither.

This *M. Colt* had three daughters, whose honest and vertuous educations were the chiefe Motiues, that induced him to place
his

Syr Tho. More.

his affection there: and albeie
his mynde was most inclyned
towards the second Sister, for
that he thought her the fayrest,
and best fauoured: yet when he
considered, it would be both a
great grieve, & some shame also
to the eldest, to see her younger
Sister preferred in Mariage be-
fore her, he out of a kind of pit-
ty, then framed his affection to-
wards the eldest, and shortly af-
ter married her. After this he co-
tinued his study of the Law at
Lincolnes Inne vntill he was cal-
led to the bench, and had there
read twise, which is as often, as
ordinarily any Iudge of the
Law readeth. He dwelt all this
whyle at Bucklers-bury in *Lon-*
don, where he had, by his wife
three daughters, & one Sonne,

all brought vp in vertue & learning, from their very infancy: for he would alwayes exhort them, to take Vertue and Learning for their meate, and Play for their sawce.

Before he had euer beene Reader in Court, he was in the latter tyme of King *Henry* the seventh made a Burgesse of the Parliament: In which, was by the King demaunded three fifteens for the Mariage of his eldest daughter vnto the King of Scots. At the debating wherof he alleadged such arguments & reasōs agaynst the sayd demaūde, that the Kings expectation was vtterly ouerthrowne.

Whereupon one *M. Tiler* a Gentleman of the Kinges priuy Chamber, being their present,
with

with all speed carried word to the King from the Parliament-House, That a beardlesse boy, had disapoynted his Graces purpose. Vpon which reporte the King conceiued great displeasure agaynst *M. More*, & would not rest satisfied, vntill vpon a pretended causelesse quarrell, his Father was committed to the Tower, and there kept prisoner vntil he had payd an hundred pounds, for a fine.

Shortly heereupon it happened, that *M. More* comming about a suite to *D. Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, one of the Kings priuy Councell; the Bishop called him a syde, and pretending great fauour towards him, promised him, That if he would be ruled by him he would not fayle



The Life of

to restore him agayne into the Kings fauor; meaning forsooth, as he afterwards coniectured, to make him confesse a fault agaynst the King, whereby his Highnes might with the better colour take occasion of displeasure agaynst him. As he came from the Bishop, by chance he met with one *M. Whitford* his familiar friēd, then the Bishops Chaplaine, but afterwards a Monke of *Syon*; and amongst other talke *M. More* told him what the Bishop had sayd vnto him, desyring his opinion and aduise therein. Wherupon *M. Whitford* prayed him, for the passion of God, in no wise to follow the Bishops counsel: For my Lord my mayster (quoth he) to serue the Kings turne, will not sticke to agree

Syr Tho. More.

the agree to the death of his owne
oth, Father. So *M. More* returned no
red, more to the Bishop : and had not
lt a- the King soone after dyed, he
his was purposed to haue left the
etter Realme, and gone to some other
leas- parts beyond the Seas, knowing
ame that being in the Kings displea-
e he sure, he could not liue in En-
his gland, without great daunger.

After this he was made one of
hops the Vnder sheriffes of *London*, by
ds a which office, and his learning
ft o- together, he hath been often
what heard to say, that he gained, with
him, out grieve of conscience, not so
luise little as foure hundred pounds
ford by the yeare : For that there was
n of no matter of importance depen-
e Bi- ding at that tyme in controuersy
l my in any of the Kings Courts, con-
e the erning the lawes of the Realme,

ke to
gree

▲ 5 where

wherein he was not with one party in counsell.

For his wisdom and learning he was held in such honour and esteeme, that before he came to the seruice of King *Henry* the Eighth, at the suite and instance of our English Merchants, he was, with the Kinges consent, twise sent *Embassadour*, about certayne businesse in cōtrouerſy betwixt them and the Merchāts of the *Stilliard*. Whose wise and discrete dealinges therein, to his high Commendatiōs, comming vnto the Kings eare, he called immediatlye vnto him *Cardinall Wolsey*, then Lord Chancellor, and willed him by all meanes to procure, & worke *M. More* into his seruice.

Whereupon the Cardinall according

According to the Kinges pleasure,
earnestly laboured with him, &
amongst many other his persua-
sions, he alleadged vnto him; how
deere his seruice must needs be
to the King, who could not out
of Honour seeme to recompen-
ce him with lesse, then he should
otherwise yearly loose therby.
Yet was he loath to change his
estate, and made such meanes to
the King, by the Cardinall, to
the contrarye, that his Maiesty
at that tyme, rested well satis-
fied.

Shortly after, there happe-
ned a great shippe of the Popes;
to ariue at *Southampton*, which
was claymed by the King as a
forfayture. But the Popes *Em-
bassadour*, by suite made vnto
the King, obtayned, that he
A 6 might

he might for his Maister haue
Councell learned in the Lawes
of this Realme, and the matter
in his owne presēce (being him-
selfe an excellent Ciuilian) to
be openly hard and discussed in
some publique place. At which
tyme there was none, for our
Lawes, found more fit to be of
Councell with the *Embassader*,
then *M. More*, who could repor-
te vnto him in Latyn, all the
reasons and arguments on both
sides alleadged.

Whereupon Councillors on
both parties, in the presence of
the Lord Chancellour, & other
the Iudges of the Star-Chamber
had audiēce accordingly, where
M. More declared vnto the *Em-
bassadour* the whole effect of all
theyr opinions, and besides, in
de-

defence of his Clyent argued so
earnedly himselfe, that thereby
not only the Forfaiture afore-
said was agayne restored vnto
his Holynesse, but also he him-
selfe amongst all the Audience,
for his vpright and commenda-
ble demeanour, was so greatly
renowned, that the King from
thenceforth by no meanes, or in-
deedy would be moued to for-
leave his seruice any longer.

Now, at his first entry into
the Kings seruice, his Maiesty
made him Maister of Requests,
leaving the no better place voy-
age, and within one moneth af-
ter he was knighted, & made of
his priuy Councell. And so from
tyme to tyme did the King still
aduance him, to places of Ho-
nour; and he continued still in
his

his fauour, and trusty seruice
for more then twenty yeares.
In which time the King vsed of-
ten, especially vpon Festiuall
dayes (after he had done his
owne Deuotions) to send for
him into his owne Trauerse, and
there in matters of Astronomy
Geometry, Diuinity, and such
like Faculties (yea and often ty-
mes of his temporall affayres) to
sit, and confer with him. Many
tymes also in the night the King
would haue him vp into his lea-
des, there to consider with him
the diuers scituations, courses,
motions, & apparitions of the
Stars, & Planets. And for that
he was euer of a merry & plea-
sant disposition, it pleased the
King and Queene very often to
send for him, attyme of dinner
and

nd supper, as also many other
ymes, to come & recreate with
them.

But when he perceyued the
King to take so much delight in
his company, & discourse, that
he could not scarce once in a
moneth get leaue to go home to
his wife and children, nor that
he could not be absent frō court
two dayes togeather, without
sending for agayne, he disliking
this restraint of his liberty, did
thereupon begin; somewhat to
dissemble his merry nature, re-
tyring himselfe by litle and litle
from his accustomed mirth, so
that he was from thenceforth,
sent for orderly by the King, at
such tymes as was conuenient.

In this meane tyme dyed one
M. Westo Treasurer of the Exche-
quer,

quer, whose office after his de-
 cease, the King of his owne free
 gift, and offer, bestowed vpon
Syr Thomas More. And, in the
 fourteenth yeare of his Maie-
 styes raygne, there was a Parla-
 ment holden at Westmynster,
 wherof *Syr Tho. More* was cho-
 sen Speaker: who being very
 vnwilling to take that office
 vpon him, made an oration (not
 now extant) to the Kings Ma-
 iesty, for his discharge thereof.
 Wherunto whē the King would
 not consent, he spake vnto his
 Maiesty in this forme, as fol-
 loweth.

Sith I perceyue / most vn-
 doubted Soueraygne, that it stā-
 deth not with your high Plea-
 sure to reforme this my Electiō,
 and cause it to be changed, but
 haue

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tio,
but
haue

haue by the mouth of the most
Reuerend Father in God, your
Highnesse Chauncellour, there-
unto giuen your Royall assent,
and of your gracious benignity
determined, far aboue that I am
able to beare, to strengthen me,
and repute me fit for this office,
is chosen thereunto by your Cō-
mons; I am therefore now, and
alwayes shalbe ready obediently
to conforme my selfe to the ac-
complishment of your high Cō-
maundement, in most humble
wise. Yet with your Graces fa-
uour, before I further enter
therinto, I make humble inter-
cession vnto your Highnes, for
two lowly Petitions: The one
priuatly concerning my self, the
other concerning your whole
Assembly of Commons in Par-
lament.

lament. For my selfe (Gracious Soueraygne) that if it shal happen me to mistake, in any thinge, on the behalfe of your Cômôn in your highnes presenc or for want of good vtterance in rehearsal of things, to preuert or impayre their prudent instructions ; It may then like your most Royall Maiesty , with your abundant grace , in the Eye of your accustomed Pitty, to pardon my simplicity , giuing me leave to repayre agayne vnto the Cômôn House , there to conferre new with them , and take their more substantiall aduice , what thing, and in what wise, I shal on their behalfe vtter & speake before your Maiesty , to the intent theyr prudent aduises and affayres be not by my simplicity

and

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ad folly hindred or impayred.
Which thing, if it should hap-
en vnto me (as it is not vnlike-
) if your Gracious Benignity
lieued not my ouersight ther-
it could not but during my
e be a perpetuall grudge and
auines vnto my hart. And this
my first petition vnto your
oyall Maiesty.

My other suite (most Excel-
ent Prince) is, that forasmuch
there be of your Commons
ere assembled in Parlament,
y your high commandement,
number, which after the ac-
ustomed manner, are appoyn-
d by the common House, to
eat and aduise of the common
fayres apart, amongst them-
ues : And albeit (most Liege
ord) that according to your
most

most prudent aduice, by your
Honorable Writs, euery where
declared, there hath beene a due
diligence vsed in sending vp to
your Highnes Court of Parla-
ment, the most discreet persons
out of euery quarter, esteeme
most fit therto, whereby there
is gathered, no doubt, a verie
substantiall Assembly of right
wise and politique Persons: Yet
(most vertuous Prince) sith
mongst so many, euery man is
not alike witted, or so well spo-
ken, as other; and it often hap-
peneth, that much folly is vtter-
ed, in a paynted speech; As li-
kewise, many that are boyster-
ous & rude in language, do yet
giue right good substantiall Coun-
sell; And moreouer in matters of
greate Importance, the mynd
happeth

happeneth to be so busied, that oftentimes a man studieth rather what to say, then how to speake, by reason whereof the wisest man, & best speaker in a whole Countrey, fortuneth sometyms (his mynd being frequent in the matter) to speake in such wise, as he would afterwar- des wish, to haue beene other- wise spoken, and yet no worse will had he, when he spake it, then he hath, when he would so gladly chaunge it: Therefore (most gracious Soueraigne) considering that in your High Court of Parliament nothing is treated of, but matter of weight & importance, and which doth chiefly, & meerly concerne this your most flourishing Realme, and your owne Royall Estate,
it

it would please your Royall Ma-
 iesty, out of your aboundant Cle-
 mency and fauour, to giue to all
 your Cōmons here assembled,
 your most gracious licence, and
 pardon, freely, without feare of
 your high displeasure, euery mā
 to discharge his Conscience, &
 boldly, in euery thing incident
 amongst vs, to declāre his ad-
 uice. And whatsoeuer any man
 shall happen to say, that it may
 like your Royall Maiesty, of
 your inestimable Goodnes, to
 take all in good part, interpre-
 ting euery mans wordes (how
 vnwisely soeuer they be spo-
 ken) to proceed of good zeale
 towards the profit of your Re-
 alme, & dignity of your Royall
 Person; the prosperous Estate &
 preservatiō wherof (most dread

Souc-

oueraigne) is the thing which
I we your most hūble, & louing
subiects, aecording to the bou-
en duty of our naturall Alle-
iance, most highly desire, and
pray for.

At this Parlament *Cardinall*
Wolsey found himselfe much grie-
ed with the Burgesſes thereof,
for that nothing was either
spoken, or done in the Parla-
ment house, but was immediat-
ly blowne abroad in euery Ale-
house and Tauerne. It fortun-
ed also at this Parlament, that a ve-
ry great Subsidie was demaun-
ed, which the Cardinall fea-
ring would not passe the Lower
House, did therefore determine
for the furtherance thereof, to
be there personally present,
Against whole comming, after
long

16g debate there made, whether
it were better to receaue him,
but with a few of his Lords, or
with his whole trayne: Maisters
(quoth Syr *Thomas More*) for as
much, as my Lord Cardinall
(ye wot well) lately layd to our
charge, the lightnes of our ton-
gues, for thinges vttered out of
this house, therfore in my mind
it shall not be amisse to receiue
him with all Pompe, with his
Maces, his Pillars, his Pollaxes,
his Crosses, his Hat, & the great
Seale too, to the intent, that if
he find the like fault with vs
hereafter, we may be the bolder
from our selues to lay the blame
vpon himselfe, and those fol-
lowers which his Grace bring-
geth hither with him. Where-
vnto the whole House agreed,

and receiued him accordingly.

After he was come & recea-
ued in manner aforelayd, the
whole house of Parlamēt sitting
still in silence, and answering
nothing to what he demaūded,
but rather contrary to his expe-
ctation, seemed not any way to
inclyne to his Request, he said
vnto them: Maisters, you haue
here many wise & learned men
amongst you, and sith I am sent
hither from the Kinges owne
Person, for the preservation of
your selues, and all the Realme,
he thinkes you should giue me
some reasonable answer. Whe-
reāt euery man continuing si-
lent; then began he to speake to
one *M. Warney*, who making
him no answer neither, he se-
uerally asked the same Question

B

of

of diuers others that were accounted the wisest men of the house: To whome when none of them all would answere so much as a word, it being before agreed among them to answere only by theyr speaker: Maisters (quoth the Cardinall) vnlesse it be the custome of your howse, as of likelyhood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whome you haue chosen for trusty and wise (as indeed he is) in such cases to vtter your mindes, without doubt heere is a meruailous obstinate silence, and thereupon he required answere of *M. Speaker*. Who first reuerently vpon his knees excusing the silence of the Howse, abashed at the presence of so Noble a Personage, able to amaze the wisest & best

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learned in a kingdome; & after by many probable arguments prouing that for them to make answere, was neither expedient nor agreable with the ancient Liberty of the House; in conclusiō for himselfe shewed, that although they had with all their voyces chosen and trusted him to speake, yet except euery one of the could put into his owne head all their seuerall wittes, he alone in so weighty a matter, was far vnmeete to make his Grace answere.

Whereupon the *Cardinall* displeased with *Syr Thomas More* (who had not in this Parliament satisfied his desire) suddenly arose and departed. And after the Parliament was ended, at his House in the Gallery at White

Hall in *Westminster*, he vttered vnto him his griefes, saying: I would to God *M. More*, you had beene at *Rome* when I first made you Speaker of the Parliament-Howle. Your Grace not offended, I would I had beene there my Lord (quoth *Syr Thomas*.) And to wynd these quarrels out of the Cardinalls head he began to commend that Gallery, and said: I like this Gallery of yours my Lord, much better the your Gallery at Hampton-Court; wherewith he so wisely brake off the Cardinalls displeasante talke, that the Cardinall at that tyme, as it seemed, knew not what more for the present to say vnto him.

But yet for a Reuenge of his displeasure, the Cardinall coun-
 selled

alled the king to send *Syr Thomas More* Embassadour ouer into Spayne, commending vnto him his wisdom, learning, & fitness for the voyage; and further told the King that the difficulty of the cause considered; there is none (quoth the Cardinall) so meete, or able to performe your Maiestyes seruice therein, as he. Which when the King had broken to *Syr Thomas More*, and that he had satisfied his Maiesty how vnfit a voyage it was for him, the nature of the countrey, and disposition of his complexion considered, that he should neuer be able, nor likely to do his Grace acceptable seruice there, knowing right well, that if his Maiesty sent him thither, he should send him to his

Graue; yet shewing himsele ne
uerthelesse ready, according
his duty, although it were with
the losse of his life, to fullfill
Graces pleasure in that behalfe
the King well allowing of his
answere said vnto him. It is not
our meaning *M. More*, to do
you the least hurt, but rather the
best good; we will therefore for
this purpose deuise vpon some
other, and imploy your seruice
otherwise.

And indeed such entire affe
ction did the King at that tyme
beare vnto him, that he made
him Chancellour of the Duchy
of *Lancaster*, vpon the death of
Syr Richard Wingfield, who had
that Office before. And the king
tooke so much pleasure in his
company, that oftentimes his

Maiesty

Maieſty would on the ſuddaine
go vp to his howſe at *Chelſey*, to
be merry with him; whither on
a tyme comming to dynner, he
walked in *Syr Thomas Mores*
garden by theſpace of an houre,
and held his arme about *Syr Tho-*
mas Mores necke.

As ſoone as his Maieſty was
gone, *M. William Roper*, a Gent-
leman of *Grayes Inne*, who had
married *Syr Thomas Mores* el-
deſt daughter ſaid vnto him: Fa-
ther, how happy a man are you,
whome the King hath thus fa-
miliarly entertayned (for he ne-
uer was ſeene to do the like vnto
any man, except *Cardinall Wol-*
ſey, with whome the King did
often walke arme in arme:) I
thanke our Lord God, Sonne
Roper (quoth he) I find his Gra-

ce my very good Lord indeed
 And I thinke he doth as singu-
 larly fauour me, as any subiect
 within this Realme; Howbeit,
 Sonne *Roper*, I may tell thee,
 haue no great cause to be proud
 thereof. But if my Head could
 wyn his Maiesty a Castle in
France (for then there was war-
 re with France) it should not
 fayle to goe.

Amongst many other his
 vertues he was of such mee-
 kenes, that if he happened to
 enter into argument, or dispute
 with any learned man resorting
 to him from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*,
 or other place, as there did di-
 uers, some for desyre of his ac-
 quaintance, some for the famous
 report of his wisdom and lear-
 ning, and some about suites for
 the

the Vniuersityes) although very few were comparable vnto him as well witnesseth *Erasmus* :) & if in discourse, he so pressed thē that they cold not well hold out longer disputation agaynst him; then least he should discourage thē (as one that sought not his owne Glory) he wold seeme conquered, & by some wise device, courteously breake off into some other matter, & giue over. Of whome for his wisdom and learning the king had such an opinion, that at such tymes as he attended his person, in his progressse either to *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, where he was receiued with very eloquent Orations, his Maiesty would alwayes assigne *Syr Thomas More*, as one prompt, and ready therein, to make

B 5

make Answer thereunto, *ex tempore*.

His custome also was, that whēsoever he came to any Vniuersity, eyther heere or beyond the Seas, not only to be present at Disputations and Readings, but also to dispute very learnedly himselfe, to his high Commendations, and generall applause of all the assembly.

During the tyme of his Chancellorship for the Duchy of *Lancaster*, he was sent twice Embassador, ioyned in cōmission with *Cardinall Wolsey*, once vnto the Emperour *Charles* into *Flanders*, the other tyme vnto the French King at *Paris*.

About this tyme, it hapned that the Water-bayly of *London* who had somtimes byn *Syr Tho*

mas Mores servant, hearing certayne Merchants to speake somewhat lauishly agaynst his old Maister, was so displeased therat, that he came with all speed to *Syr Thomas More*, & told him what he had heard, & of whom. *Syr* (quoth he) if I were in such fauour and authority with my Prince, as you are, such men as these should not surely be suffered, so vncharitably & falsly to misreport & flaunder me. Wherefore I wish you to call the befor you & punish them. *Syr Thomas More* smyling vpon him sayd: Why, M. Water-bayly, would you haue me punish them, by whome I receyue more benefit then by all you, that are my friends? Let them a Gods Name speake as lewdly of me as they

list, and shoote neuer so many
 darts at me. So long as they do
 not hit me, what am I the worse?
 But if they should once hit me,
 then would it not indeed a little
 trouble me: Howbeit I trust by
 Gods helpe, there shall none of
 them all be able to touch me.
 Therefore I haue more cause, I
 assure thee M. Water-bailly to
 pittie, then to be angry with
 them. Such fruitefull commu-
 nication would he often tymes
 haue with his familiar Friends.

So on a tyme walking a lōg
 the *Thames* syde at *Chelscy*, with
 his Sonne in law *M. Roper*, and
 discoursing of many things, a-
 mongst other speaches he sayd
 thus vnto him: Now I would to
 our Lord God, Sonne *Roper*, that
 three things were well establi-
 shed

any shed in Christendome, ypon cō-
dition that I were heer presently
put into a sacke, & cast into the
midst of the *Thames*. What great
things be those Sir (quoth *M. Ro-*
per) that moue you so to wish?
Wouldest thou know Sonne *Ro-*
per, quoth he? May it so please
you Syr, with a very good will,
sayd *M. Roper*. In sayth Sonne
Roper, they be these: First, that
where the most parte of Chri-
tian Princes are now at mortal
warres, I would they were all
at an vniuersall peace. The secōd
is, that where the Church is at
this present, sore afflicted with
Errors & Heresyes, that it were
settled in a perfect vniformity
of Religion. The third is, that
where the Kings matter of his
marriage is now come into que-
stion,

stion, I wish it were, to the glory of God, and quietnes of all parties, brought to a good conclusion. By which three things (as *M. Roper* supposed) he judged, that there would be a great disturbance, through the most part of Christendome.

Thus did *Syr Tho. More* through the whole course of his life, by his actions make it appear, that all his trauels and paynes, without thought of earthly commodity either to himselfe or any of his, were only for the seruice of God, his King, and the Common Wealth, wholly bestowed & employed. And he was oftentimes, in his latter dayes heard to say, That he neuer asked of the King, for himselfe, the value of one Penny.

His

His dayly custome was, if he were at home, besides his private prayers with his wife, children, and family, often to retire alone, and exercise himselfe in private, and godly deuotions: as also euery night before he went to bed, he vsed to go to his chappell with his whole Family aforesaid, & there vpon his knees deuoutly to say, certayne Lessons, Manyes, Psalmes & Collects with them.

And because he was alwayes desirous of private Exercise, & that he might the better withdraw himselfe from wordly company, he built himselfe a lodging a good distance from his Mansion house, called the *New Building*, wherein he placed a Chappell, Library, and a Gallery to walke

walke, spending many dayes in
the weeke in Prayer, and Study
together. And allwayes on the
Friday, he did vsually continue
there frō Morning vntill Night,
bestowing his tyme only in me-
ditation, reading, and such god-
ly Exercises.

And the more to stir vp & en-
courage his wife, and children,
to the delyre of heauēly things,
he would oftentymes vse these
speeches vnto the: It is no mai-
stery for you, my Children, to
go to heauen; for euery body ge-
ueth you good counsell, and li-
kewise many shew you good
Examples. You see Vertue re-
warded, and Vice punished; so
that you are carryed vp to hea-
uen, euen by the chynne: But if
you liue to the tyme, that no

man

man will giue you good coun-
sell, nor shew you good exam-
ple; when you shall see Vertue
punished, and Vice rewarded; if
then you will stand fast & sticke
firmely vnto God; vpon payne
of my life, though you be but
halfe good, yet God will allow
you for wholly good.

If his wife, children, or any
of his Howshould, had beene
icke, or troubled at any tyme
with any infirmity, he would
say vnto the: We may not looke
for our pleasure to go to Heauen
in featherbeds; it is not the way:
for our Blessed Lord himselte
went thither with great payne,
and by many Tribulations; and
ward was the path-way wherein
he so walked: Nor may the
seruant, looke to be in better
case

case, then his Maister.

And as he would in this manner alwayes perswade them to take their paines and sicknes patiently, so would he in like sort teach them to withstand the diuell, & his temptations valiantly, saying: Whosoever shall mark well the diuell and his temptations, shall find him therein much like vnto an Ape. For as an Ape is not well looked vnto, will be busy, and bold to do shrewd turnes, and being espied will suddenly leape backe, and aduerture no further: so the diuell finding a man idle, sloathfull, and without resistance, ready to receiue his temptations, waxeth hardy, that he will not stick to continue still with him, vntill he hath wrought him throughly

his purpose. But on the contrary side, if he see a man with diligence perseuere to preuent, and withstand his temptations, he waxeth so weary, that in the end he vtterly forsaketh him. For as the diuell by disposition is a spirit of so high a Pride, that he cannot abide to be mocked; so is he of nature so Enuious, that he feareth to assault a vertuous man, lest he should thereby not only catch a foule fall himselfe, but also minister vnto the man, more matter of merit.

Thus he euer delighted, not only to busy himself in vertuous exercises, but also to exhort his wife, children, and howshold to embrace, and follow the same. So who me for his notable vertues, God shewed, as it seemed, a mira-

miraculous and manifest token of his loue, and fauour towards him, at such tyme, as his daughter *Roper* lay dangerously sicke of the sweating sicknes (as many others did that yeare) and continued in such extremity of that disease, that by no skill of Physicke, or other art in such cases commonly vsed, (although she had diuers both expert and learned Phisitians continually attendant about her) she could be kept from sleeping, so that the Phisitians themselves vtterly despayred of her recouery, and quite gaue her ouer. Her Father *Syr Tho. More*, as one that most intierely loued and tendred her, being in great grieve and heaviness, and seeing all humane helps to faile, determined to

haue

haue recourse to God by prayer
for remedy . Whereupon going
vp after his accustomed māner ,
into his aforelaid *New Building*,
he there in his Chappell, vpon
his knees with teares , most de-
uoutly besought Almighty God,
that it would please his diuine
Goodnes, vnto whome nothing
was impossible, if it were his blef-
sed will, to vouchsafe graciously
to heare his humble petitiō. And
suddenly it came into his mynd,
that a Glister might be the only
way to help her; of which when
he had told the Phisitians , they
all instantly agreed, that if there
were any hope of remedy , that
was the most likelist; and mer-
uayled much , that themselues
had not before remembred the
same. Then was it instantly mi-
nistred

nistred vnto her sleeping, & after a while she awaked, and contrary to all their expectations immediatly began to recouer, & in short tyme was wholly restored vnto her former health. Whome, if it had pleased God to haue taken away, at that time, her Father sayd, that he would neuer after haue medled with worldly businesse.

Now whilst *Syr Thomas More* was Chauncellour of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, the Sea of *Rome* chaunced to be voyd, by the death of Pope *Leo the X.* which was the cause of much trouble; for that *Cardinall Wolsey* a man of a very high and ambitious spirit, aspiring vnto that sea & dignity, was therein crost and preuented by the Emperour *Charles*

the

the fifth, who had commended
the Cardinall *Adrian* (some-
time his Schoole-maister) vnto
the Conclaue of Cardinalls in
Rome, at the tyme of election, &
highly prayſed him for his
Worth and Vertue, that he was
hereupon choſen Pope. Who
comming from *Spayne* (where
he was then reſident) to *Rome*,
entred into the Citty towards
his Pallace barefooted with ſuch
humility, that all the people
had him in very great Reue-
rence.

Vpon this & other like occa-
ſions, *Card. Wolſey* enraged with
anger, ſtudied all the wayes he
could deuife to be reuenged of
the Emperour, which as it was
the beginning of a moſt lamen-
table Tragedy, ſo ſome part ther-
of

of, not impertinent to my present purpose, I haue thought fit to heere to insert.

The *Cardinall*, not ignorant of King *Henries* inconstant & mutable disposition, vsed all meanes to auert his Maiesty, from his wife *Queene Katherine*, the Emperours Aunt, well knowing he would easily inclyne to that motion vpon any sleight occasion. And so meaning to make the Kings flexible Nature, the instrument to bring about his vngodly purpose, he deuised to allure his Maiesty (who was al ready, contrary to the *Cardinalls* mynd, and knowledge, fallen in loue with the Lady *Anne Bullen* to affect the *French Kings* Sister. Which thing, because of the wars, and hatred that was then

betweene the French King, and
the Emperour (whome the Car-
dinall now mortally hated) he
very earnestly indeauoured to
procure. And for the better fur-
thering this his purpose, he re-
quested one *Langland*, Bishop of
Lincolne, and Ghostly Father to
H. Henry, to put a scruple into
the K. head; that it was not law-
full for him to marry his Brothers
wife; which thing the King (not
wary to heare of) related first to
Syr Thomas More, & required his
counsell therein, and with all
showed him some places of Scri-
pture which seemed somewhat
to serue his purpose. *Syr Thomas*
More; perusing the said places,
thereupon (as one that had ne-
er professed Diuinity) excused
himselfe vnto his Maiesty, and
said,

said, he was farre vnfit to meddle with such affaires.

The King not satisfied with this answer, pressed and vrged him the more; which he perceiving said vnto his Maiesty: that forasmuch as such a busines required good aduise and deliberation, he besought his Highnes to giue him sufficient respite to consider aduisedly of the same. Where with the King well contented, replied, That *Tonstall & Clark*, Bishops of *Durham & Bath*, with others learned of his priuy Council should also be dealers therein.

So *Syr Thomas More* departed, and conferred those places of Scripture with the Expositions of diuers of the ancient Fathers, and Doctours of the Church, and at his comming to

Court

Court & talking with the King
of the aforesaid matter, he said:
To be playne with your Grace,
neither my Lord of *Durham*, nor
my Lord of *Bath*, though I hold
them to be both learned, ver-
tuous, & holy Prelates, nor my
selfe, with any other of your
Counsell(being all your Maie-
ties owne seruants, & so great-
ly bound vnto you for your ma-
nifold benefits dayly bestowed
vpon vs) be in my iudgment fit
Counsellors for your Grace he-
rein. But if your Maiesty desyre
to vnderstand the Truth, such
Counsellors may be found, as
neither for respect of world-
ly commodity, nor for feare of
your Princely authority, will
any way be drawne to deceiue
you. And then he named vnto

The Life of
 the King *S. Hierome, S. Augustine*
 and diuers others auncient Fa-
 thers & Doctors of the Church,
 both Greeke an Latin; and fur-
 ther shewed his Maiesty, what
 authority he had gathered forth
 of them: of which although the
 King (as not fitting to his pur-
 pose) did not very well like, yet
 were they by *Syr Thomas More*
 so wisely alleaged, and so tem-
 pered with discretion, that the
 King at that tyme, tooke it in
 good part, and had oftentimes
 conference with him againe, a-
 bout the same matter.

After this there were certay-
 ne questions propounded to the
 Kings Counsell whether in this
 case the King needed to haue
 any scruple at all: and if he had,
 what was the best way to free
 him

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him of it? The greater part of the Counsell were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple, and that for his Maiesties discharge therin, it was fit suite should be made vnto the Sea of Rome, where the King thought that by his liberality, he might with ease obtrayne his purpose.

Thē was there procured from Rome a commission for the tryall of this Mariage, wherein *Cardinall Campegius*, and *Cardinall Wolsey* were ioyned commissioners, who for the determination thereof, sate at the *Blacke-Fryers* in London, where a Libell was put in, for the annulling of the said Matrimony, affirming the Mariage betweene the King and Queene to be vnlawfull. Then againe, for prooffe thereof to be

lawfull, there was produced a Joy
dispensation, in which (after di- Father
uers disputations thereupō hol- the
den) there appeared an imper- que
fection; which notwithstanding durst
by an other instrument, or Breu- and
found out vpon search, in the and
Treasury of *Spayne*, & sent ou- ing
to the commissioners in *England* n or
was supplied; & so should iudg- Trot
mēt haue ben giuen by the Pope der;
accordingly, had not the King men
vpon intelligence therof before of th
the same Iudgment, appealed to And
a Generall Coūcell. After whose pra
Appellation, the Cardinalls sat high
no more vpon that businesse. Mou

It happened, before the same ques
matter of Marriage brought in the
Question, that *M. Roper* being glad
one day in discourse with *Syn- gue*
Tho. More, did with a kind of who
joy,

ced joy, congratulate with his said
er di Father, for the happy Estate of
hol the Realme that had so Catho-
per ique a Prince, as no Heretique
ding durst shew his face, so vertuous
Breu and learned a Clergy, so graue
n the and sound a Nobility, and so lo-
oue uing and obedient Subiects, all
glad in one fayth agreeing togeather.
udge Troth, it is so indeed, Sonne Ro-
Pop per; (quoth he :) and then com-
King mended all degrees and estates
efore of the same, far beyond *M. Roper*.
ed to And yet Sonne *Roper* (quoth he)
y hose I pray God, that some of vs (as
s fate high as we seeme to sit vpon the
se. Mountaynes, treading Hereti-
e saiques vnder our feete like Ants)
ht in ue not to see the day, when we
being gladly would wish to be in lea-
n Sy gue and composition with those
nd of whome you call Heretiques, &

to let them haue their Churches quietly to themselues, vpon condition, that they would be content to let vs haue ours, quietly to our selues.

Then *M. Roper* produced many reasons to the contrary & saw no cause why any should say so. Well, well, *Sonne Roper* (quoth he) I pray God some of vs liue not till that day, and said no more. To whome *M. Roper* replied, By my troth Syr, this was desperatly spoken, seeming to be halfe angry with *Syr Thomas More*: who perceiuing the same said merily vnto him: Well, well *Sonne Roper*, It shall not be then since you will not haue it. Thus was he of so excellent temper, that those who liued, were continually cōuersant with him

him in his house, for the space
of twenty yeares and vpwwardes,
could neuer perceiue him to be
once moued, or to make the
least shew of anger.

But to returne agayne where
I left. After the supplying of the
dispensation, sent vnto the com-
missioners into *England*, as is
before rehearsed, the King tak-
ing the businesse to himselfe, as
not then mynding to proceed
any further in the matter, affli-
ned the Bishop of *Durham* and
Thomas More to go Embassa-
dours to *Cambray* (a place nei-
ther Imperiall, nor French) to
treat a Peace betweene the Em-
perour, the French King, & him-
selfe; in the concluding wherof
Syr Tho. More so worthily man-
aged the busines, that he pro-

cured therby much more benefit for the Kingdome, then was at that tyme by the King and his Counsell thought possible could be compassed. For whose good service in that Embassy, the King (when he after made him Lord Chauncellour) caused the Duke of *Norfolke*, to declare openly to the people, how much all *England* was bounden vnto him, as you shall see heerafter more at large.

Now vpon the coming home of the Bishop of *Durham*, and *Thomas More* from *Cambray* afore sayd, the King began to renew agayne his old suite, and was very earnest in perswading *Thomas More* to agree vnto the matter of his marriage, vnto all the wayes, and meanes

cottle

could deuise to draw him to his
part, and as it was thought did
the rather for that end soone af-
ter create him Lord Chauncel-
our of England. And the King
said further vnto him, that al-
though at his going to *Cambray*,
he was in vtter despaire to ob-
taine dispensation thereof; yet
now he had conceiued some
good hope to cōpasse the same;
alleging, that albeit his Mar-
riage, as being agaynst the posi-
tue Law of the Church, & the
written Law of God, was hol-
den by the dispensation; yet is
there another thing found out
of late (quoth the King) wherby
his Marriage appeareth so dire-
ctly agaynst the law of Nature,
that it can in no wise, by the
Church be dispensable, as De-

Stor Stokesley (whome he had then preferred to the Bishopricke of *London*) can well instruct you, with whome, vpon this point, I would haue you to confer.

So they conferred together. But for all this Conference, *Syr Thomas More* could not be induced to change his opinion therein: Yet notwithstanding did the Bishop in his Report of him to the King, affirme falsely that he found *Syr Thomas More* in the Kings cause, very forward, as being desirous to find some good matter, wherewith he might serue the Kings contentment, in that case.

Now, this Bishop Stokesley having a litle before, byn by *Cardinall Wolsey* openly rebuked in

had the Sarre-chamber, & awarded
to the *Fleete*, he not well broo-
ing this contumelious vsage;
and knowing that forasmuch
as the Cardinall, for his backe-
wardnes in pursuing the Kings
diuorfe, was falling out of his
highnes fauour; and that he had
now espied a fit opportunity to
revenge his quarell agaynst the
Cardinall, and to incense the
King further agaynst him; at
last preuayled so far, that the
Cardinall was soone after dis-
placed from his office of high
Chancellorship, and the same
was conferred vpon *Syr Thomas*
More, hoping therby so to win
him to his syde, that he would
yield his consent for the matter
of diuorfe.

Then was *Syr Thomas More*
be-

betweene the Dukes of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, brought through *Westminster* Hall, to his place in the Chancery, and the Duke of *Norfolke* in the audience of all the people there assembled, showed, that he was from the King himselfe straitley charged by speciall commission, to publish there openly in the presence of them all, how much all *England* was beholding to *Syr Thomas More*, for his good seruice: and how worthily he deserued the highest roome in the Kingdom, and further how deere his Majesty loued & trusted him; where in (quoth the Duke) he hath great cause to reioyce, & prayse Almighty God.

Whereunto *Syr Thomas More* (amongst diuers other wise and lear-

learned speeches) made answere
and replied, that although he
had good cause to take comfort
of his Highnes singular fauour
towards him, to whome there-
fore he acknowledged himselfe
most deeply bounden; yet ne-
verthelesse he must for his owne
heart needes confesse, that in all
those things, by the Duks Grace
there alleaged, he had done no-
thing, but what was his duty.
And furthermore said, That he
was very vnfit for that dignity,
wherein (considering how wise
and worthy a Prelate, had lately
before taken so great a fall) he
said he had no great cause to re-
ioyce. And as they had before in
the Kings behalfe, charged him
to minister Iustice vprightly &
indifferently to the people, with-
out

out corruption or affection: so did he likewise charge them a gayne, that if they saw him, at any time to digresse, in the least thing, touching any part of his duty, in that honourable Office, euen as they would discharge their owne duty and fidelity to God and the King, they would not fayle to declare the same to his Maiesty; who otherwise, might haue iust cause to lay the fault wholly vpon them, and to their charge.

Now, when he was Lord Chauncellour, on a tyme being at leasure (as seldome he was) a Sonne in law of his, who had married one of his daughters, spake merrily vnto him saying: When Cardinall *Wolsey* was Lord Chancellour, not onely

di.

keepers of his priuy Chāber, but
much also as were but his very
poor-keepers got much proffit:
and now sith I haue maryed one
of your daughters, and giue my
dayly attendance vpon you., I
thinke I might of reason looke
for something; but you spoyle all
markets, Syr, because you be so
ready your selfe to heare euery
man, as well poore as rich; & be-
sides you keepe no doores shut
gainst them, which is to me no
small hinderance and discoura-
gemēt; whereas otherwise some
for friendshippe, some for kyn-
red, but most for profit, would
be glad to haue my furtherance
to bring them to your presence.
And now as the case stands, if
I should take any thing of them,
I know I should do them much
wrong

wrong, for that they may do
much for themselves, as I am
able to do for the. Which thing
though it be in you very com-
mendable, yet to me your Sonne
I find it nothing profitable.

You say well, Sonne (quote
Syr Thomas More) I do not much
like that you are so scrupulous
of conscience, for there be many
other wayes, wherein I may
both do you good, and please
your friend also; for sometime
may I by my word stand you
friend instead, and sometime
I may by my letters help him
or if he haue a cause depending
before me, at your request I may
heare him before another; or
his cause be not altogether
the best, yet may I moue the parties
to fall to some reasonable way

end

end, or compound by arbitrement: Howbeit this one thing Sonne, I assure thee, on my Fayth, that if the parties will at my hands call for iustice, then if it were my Father that stood on the one side, and the Diuell on the other side, his cause being good, the Diuell surely should haue right.

So offered he to his Sonne as much fauour as he thought he could in reason require. And that he would for no respect digresse neuer so litle frō iustice, did plainely appeare by another of his Sonns in-law, one *M. Giles Heron*, who had a sorry suite depending before him in the Chancery, yet presuming much vpon his Fathers fauour, would in no wayes be perswaded by him to
come

come to an indifferent composition with his aduersary; whereupon in triall of the matter, *Syr Thomas More* pronounced sentence agaynst him.

He vsed euery afternoone to sit in his open Hall, to the end, that whosoever had any suit vnto him, they might the more boulder come to his presence, and there to open theyr Complayints before him. Also his manner was, to read euery Bill himselfe, before he would grant any *Sub pena*, and hauing read it, he would either set his hand vnto it, or else cancell it.

Whensoever he passed throgh Westminster Hall, to his place in Chancery, by the Court of Kings Bench, if his Father (one of the Iudges therof) had bin there
set

set before he came, he would go into the same Court, & there most reuerently vpon his knees before the whole Assembly, aske his Father blessing. As likewise, if his Father and he chanced to meet at the Lecture in *Lincolnes Inne* (as oftentimes they did) yet, notwithstanding his high place & Office, would he offer in Argument, the preheminence vnto his Father; nor would himselfe accept thereof, vntill his Father had refused it.

And for further declaration of his naturall affection, & loue towards his Father, when he lay sicke vpon his death bed, he did not only (according to his duty) oftentimes come and visit him, with all manner of comfort, but also at his departure
out

out of the world, he tooke him about the Necke, kissed, & embraced him, commending his soule into mercyfull hands of Almighty God, and so departed.

Whilest he was Lord Chancellor, he graunted but few Iniunctions; yet were they by some of the Iudges of the Law misliked, which *M. Roper* vnderstanding, declared the same vnto *Syr Thomas More*, who answered, that they should haue litle cause to find fault with him therfore. Whereupon he caused one *M. Crooke*, chiefe of the six Clarkes to make a Docket conteyning the whole number and causes of all such Iniunctions, as either in his tyme had already passed, or at the present depended in any of the Kings Courts

Courts at Westminster before
him; which done, he one day in-
vited all the Iudges to dinner
with him in the Counsell Chā-
ber at Westminster, and after
dynner, when he had broken
with them, what cōplaynts he
had heard of his Iniunctions, &
moreouer had shewed them the
number and causes of euery one
in order, truly & playnely, they
were all inforced to confesse,
that themselues in like cases
could haue done no otherwise.
Then made he this offer vnto
them, That if the Iudges of eue-
ry Court (vnto whome the re-
formation of the rigour of the
Law, by reason of their Office
most especially appertayned)
would vpon reasonable confi-
derations in their owne discre-
tions

tions (as he thought they were bound to do in conscience) mitigate, and reforme the rigor of the law themselues, there should from thenceforth be no more Iniunctions graunted out by him. Whereunto when they refused to condescend, then said he vnto them : For asmuch as your selues (my Lordes) force me to that necessity, of granting out Iniunctions, for reliefe of the peoples iniuries, you cannot hereafter any more iustly blame me.

After that, he spake priuatly to *M. Roper* saying: I perceiue why they liked not so to do, for they see that they may by the verdict of the Iury, cast all quarrels vpon those whome they account their chiefe defence, and there-
fore

fore am I compelled, to abide
the aduerture of all such Re-
ports.

Now in the tyme of his Chan-
cellourshippe, although he had
but litle leasure, to busy himselfe
in the study of holy Scriptures
and Controuersies in Religion,
with other such like Exercises,
being in a manner continually
imployed about the affaires of
the King and Kingdome; yet
did he take many watchfull pai-
nes in setting forth diuers profi-
table workes, in the defence of
Christian Religion, agaynst He-
resies, that then were blowne
abroad. In so much that the Bi-
shops, to whose Pastorall care
that Reformation chiefly belo-
nged, seeing themselues, by his
trauell (wherein by their owne

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con-

confession, they were not any way able to compare with him) in great part discharged of the r duties in that behalfe; & considering, that for all the Princes fauor, & his great Office he was no rich man, nor had in yearly reuenewes aduāced himselfe as his worthynes deserued, therefore at a Conuocation, holden amongst themselues, and others of the Clergy, they agreed to recompence him with a summe of five thousand pounds, for his paynes taken in their behalfe.

To the payment wherof euer ry Bishop, Abbot, and others of the Clergy, according to the rates of their abilityes, became liberall Contributaries; hoping that this their liberality would giue him good content. Where

vpon

ypō Bishop *Tonstall* of *Durhā*, Bi-
shop *Clarke* of *Bath*, & *D. Voysey*
Bishop of *Exceter* repayred vnto
Syr Tho. More, declaring how
thankefully, to their discharge
in Gods cause, they reckoned
themselves vnto him; and albeie
they could, not according to his
deserts, so worthily requite his
labours, & therefore must refer
the same to Gods gracious good-
nesse: yet for a small gratuity, in
respect of his Estate so vnequall
to his Worth, in the Name of
their whole Conuocation, they
presented vnto him the forsaide
summe, desiring him to accept
of it in good part. But *Syr Tho-*
mas More refusing this their ten-
der, said vnto them: That, as it
was no small comfort vnto him
that so wise and learned men ac-

cepted of his weake labours, for which he neuer intended to receiue any other reward, but at the hands of God, to whome alone all the thankes therof were chiefly to be ascribed: So gaue he most humble thankes vnto all their Honours, for their so friendly and honourable consideration, and earnestly intreated them to returne euery man his money agayne.

Wherefore when after much pressing him to accept therof, & cold not preuaile, they besought him, that they might bestow it ypon his Wife, and Children. Not so my Lords (quoth he,) I had rather see it cast into the Thames, then either I, or any of myne should haue the value of one penny therof. For, my Lord

des

des, though your offer indeed be very fayre and friendly, yet let I so much by my pleasure, & so litle by my profit, that I would not, in good fayth, for so much, and much more, to haue lost so many a good nights sleepe, as I spent vpon the same. And yet I would wish, for all that, vpon conditiō that Heresies were suppressed, that all my Bookes were burned, & my labour lost. Thus departed they from him, and were driuen to retorne euery man his owne money agayne.

This Lord Chancellour, although he was well knowne, both to God and the world to be a man of most eminent Vertue, though not so considered of euery man; yet for the auoyding of singularity would he appeare

to the ey of the world no other-
 wise then other men, as well in
 his apparell, as behauour. And
 albeit he appeared outwardly
 Honourable, like to one of his
 Dignity & Calling, yet inward-
 ly did he esteeme all such things
 for meere vanity: for next to his
 naked body he wore almost co-
 tinually a shirt of hayre; the w
 a young Gentlewoman, named
 M.^{rs} More, by chance on day es-
 pying as he sat in his doublet &
 hose at dynner in the s^omer-ty-
 me, and seemed to smile therat,
 his daughter Roper perceiuing
 the same (being not ignorant
 of this his austerity) gaue him
 priuate notice thereof, and he
 did presently amend the fault,
 seeming withall sorry, that she
 had seene it. He also wore ano-
 ther

ther playne course shirt without
ruffe or collar, vpon his shirt of
hayre; And many tymes he li-
kewise punished his body with
whips, made of knotted cor-
des; the which thing was only
knowne to his daughter *Roper*,
who for her secrefye, aboue all
the rest he especially trusted, for
that as need required she did al-
wayes wash & mend his shirt of
hayre, which he would not dis-
couer vnto any other what-
soever.

Now, in this meane space,
whilst he was Lord Chācellour
of *England*, the King did one
day greatly moue him, & desire
him, well to weigh and consider
of his great matter, concerning
his diuorce. *Syr Thomas More*
falling vpon his knees, most
D 4 humbly

humbly besought his Maiesty to stand still his gracious Soueraigne, as euer since his entry into his Royall Seruice, he had found him; and said, that there was nothing in the world more grievous to his hart, then that he was not able with the losse of one of his lymbes, to find any thing for that matter, wherby he might with safe conscience serue his Maiesties turne. And that he had alwayes borne in mynd the most Godly wordes, that his Highnesse spake vnto him, at his first comming into his Royall seruice (the most vertuous Lesson, that euer Prince taught a Subiect) to wit, that he should first looke vnto God, & after God, vnto his King: as in good fayth (said he) I haue
most

Syr Tho. More.

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most sincerely done, or els might
your Grace accompt me a most
unworthy seruant.

To this the King replied;
that if he could not therein with
his conscience serue him, he was
well content to accept of his
seruice otherwise, and vse the
aduice of some others of his pri-
uy Counsell, whose conscien-
ces would agree well inough
therewith, nor would he neuer-
thelesse discōtinue his gracious
fauour towards him, nor trou-
ble his conscience any further
with that matter, for the tyme
forward.

But *Syr Thomas More* per-
ceiued by little and little, that
the King fully determined to
proceede in his Marriage with
Queene *Anne*, when he, with

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the

the Bishoppes and Nobles of the Higher House of Parliament, were for the furtherance of that matter, cōmanded by the King to go vnto the Commons of the lower House, & shew vnto them, what the Vniuersities as well of other parts beyond the seas, as of *Oxford*, and *Cambridge* had done in that behalfe, testifying the same with their seales and subscriptions. All which things (at the Kinges request, not shewing of what mynd he was therein himselfe) he opened to the Lower House of Parliament.

Neuerthelesse doubting greatly, lest further inconueniences might follow, into with (contrary to his conscience) by reason of his Office, he was likely

to befall, he made humble suite
to the Duke of *Norforke* (his sin-
gular deare friend) to be a mea-
nes vnto the King, that he
might, with his Graces fauour,
be discharged from his Office of
Chancellourship, in which for
certayne infirmities of his bo-
dy, he pretended himselfe not a-
ble any longer to serue.

This good Duke of *Norfolke*
comming on a tyme to *Chelsey*
to dyne with *Syr Thomas More*,
found him in the Church, fin-
ishing in the Quier, with a Sur-
plice on his backe: to whome
(after Masse was done) as they
went towardes his house, to-
gether arme in arme, the Duke
said: Gods body, Gods body, my
Lord Chancellour, what turned
Parish Clarke? You dishonor the
King.

King and his Office very much.
 Nay (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) your
 smyling vpon the Duke) your
 Grace may not thinke, that the
 King your Maister and myne,
 wilbe offended with me for ser-
 uing God his Maister, or therby
 accompt his Seruice any way
 dishonoured.

Now, when the Duke (at the
 speciall intreaty and importu-
 nate suite of *Syr Thomas More*)
 had obtayned of the King, that
 he should be discharged of his
 Chancellorship, at a conuenient
 tyme appointed by the King, he
 repayred vnto the Court, to
 yield vp the great Seale, which
 his Maiesty receaued of him,
 with prayse, and thanks for his
 good seruice done to his person
 and the Realme in that Office.

And

And he further sayd vnto him in a gracious manner, that if in any suite he should heerafter haue vnto him, that either concerned his Honour (for that word it pleased the King to vse vnto him,) or appertayned to his profit, he should euer find his Highnes, a very good, and gracious Lord.

After he had thus resigned the Office, and Dignity of the Chancellorship, and placed all his Gentlemen & Yomen with Bishops and Noble men, and his eight Watermen with the Lord *Audley* (who succeded him in his Office) to whome also he gaue his great Barge; he then called al his children vnto him, & asked their aduises how he might now in the decay of his ability, which
by

by the surrender of his Office was so impayred, that he could not, as he was wont, maintayne them to liue al togeather, according to his desyre; wherat when he saw them all silent, & vnwilling in that case to shew their opinions vnto him: Why then will I (quoth he) shew vnto you my poore mynd.

I haue beene brought vp, (said he) at *Oxford*, at an Inne of *Chincery*, at *Lincolnes Inne*, and also in the Kings Courtes, and so forth, from the lowest degree to the highest; and yet I haue in yearly Reuenewes, left me at this present, little aboue a hundred poundes by the yeare. So that now, we must hereafter if we will liue together, be content to become Contributours
to

to ech other; but by my coun-
sell it shall not be best for vs, to
fall to the lowest fare first. We
will not therefore descend to
Oxford fare, nor the fare of *New*
Inne; but we will begin with
Lincolnes Inne dyet, where ma-
ny right Worshipfull of good
yeares do liue full well; which if
we find not our selues the first
yeare able to mayntayne, then
will we the next yeare go one
steppe downe to *New-Inne* fare,
wherewith, many an honest
man is well contented. Then,
if that exceed our abilityes, will
we the next yeare after descend
to *Oxford* fare, where many gra-
te, learned, & ancient Doctours
be continually resident; which
if our powers be not able to,
mayntayne neyther, then may
we

we yet with bagges and wallers
go a begging togeather, hoping
that for pittie some good people
will giue vs their Charity, at
their doore, to sing *Salve Regi-*
na, and so still may we keepe
company togeather, and be as
merry as Beggars.

And whereas you haue heard
before, that he was by the King,
taken from a very good liuing,
and aduanced to his Maiesties
seruice, wherein he spent with
paynfull cares and trauels, as
well beyond the Seas, as within
the Kingdome, in a manner the
whole substance of his life: yet
with all the gayne that he got
thereby (being neuer wastfull
spender) he was scarce able, af-
ter the Resignation of his office
of Chancellorship, for the main-
tay-

aynance of himselfe, and such
as necessarily belonged vnto
him, sufficiently to find meate
drinke, apparell, and other such
necessaries; all the land which
he euer purchased (which he
did also, before he was Lord
Chancellour) not amounting
to aboue the value of Twenty
markes a yeare. And after his
debts payd, he had not (his
Chayne only excepted) in gold
and siluer, left him the worth of
one hundred pounds.

In the tyme of his Chancel-
lorship, vpon the Sundayes and
holy daies, when Masse, or Eue-
ninge were ended, one of his
Gentlemen did vsually go to his
ladyes Pew in the Church, &
say vnto her: Madame, my Lord
is gone. The next Sunday after
the

the surrender of his Office, & departure of his Gentlemen, he went vnto his Ladyes pew himselfe, and with his Cap in hand, he made her low Courtey, saying vnto her; Madame, *My Lord is gone.*

In the tyme, before his troubles, he would talke with his Wife and Children of the ioyes of heauen, & the paynes of hell & of the liues of the Holy Martyrs, of their grieuous Martyrdomes, of their meruailous Patience, and of their sufferings & deathes, & that they died most willingly rather thē they would offend God: also what a happy & blessed thing it was for the loue of God to suffer losse of goods, imprisonment, losse of life, and landes. Moreouer he would fur

the

ther say vnto them, That vpon
his Fayth, if he could but per-
ceiue, that his wife & Children
would encourage him to dye in
a good cause, it would be such a
comfort vnto him, that for very
ioy therof he would runne mer-
rily to his death. By this dis-
course, and other such like, he
gaue them feeling what trou-
bles might afterwarde chance
to happen vnto him, wherby he
had so farre encouraged them
before the tyme, that afterwar-
des when they happened vnto
him indeed, they seemed a great
deale the lesse.

Now after the Resignation of
his Office, there came vnto him
to Chelsey, *M. Thomas Cromwell*
(then in the Kings his fauour)
with a message from his Maie-
sty,

sty, about which when they had fully cōferred together priuately; *M. Cromwell* (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) you are now newly entred into the seruice of a most Royall, Wise, & liberall Prince and if you follow my poore aduise, you shall in your Counsell giuing, euer tell him what he ought to do, but neuer what he is able to do. So shall you shew your selfe a true and faythfull seruant, & a right worthy Counsellour: for if a Lyon knew his owne strength, it were hard for any man to rule him.

Within a short tyme after this, there was a Commission graunted forth, and directed to *M. Cranmer* (then Archbishop of Canterbury) to determyne the matter of the Mariage between

the King, & Queene *Katharine*,
at *S. Albans*. Where at last, it
was fully determined, and con-
cluded, according to the Kings
desire: and then began he to cō-
playne, that since he could haue
no Iustice at the Popes handes,
he would therfore from thence-
forth separate himselfe from the
Sea of *Rome*, and thereupon he
presently married the Lady *Anne*
Bullen.

Which, when *Syr Tho. More*
vnderstood, he sayd to *M. Ro-*
per; God graunt, God graunt,
Sonne *Roper*, that these matters
within a while, be not confir-
med by Oath.

About this tyme, Queene
Anne was to passe through
London frō the Tower to West-
minster, to her Coronation, &
some

some few dayes before, *Syr Thomas More* receiued a letter from the Bishops of *Durham, Bath, & Winchester* requesting him, both to keep them company from the Tower to *Westminster* to the said Coronation, and withall to accept of Twenty Poundes, which by the Bearer thereof they had sent vnto him to buy him a gowne; which he thankfully receiued, but yet went not, staying still at home vntill the Coronation was past. At his next meeting with the said Bishops, he spake merrily vnto them, saying; My Lordes, by the letter which you sent lately vnto me, you required of me two things, one wherof since I was well contented to graunt, therefore I thought I might be the

boul-

*Th*ould not deny you the other:
and also, because I tooke you
th, & for no Beggars, and my selfe I
both know to be no rich man, I
thought I might the rather ac-
cept of your liberality with the
all the more honesty. But indeed your
desire, & Request put me in mynd
of a certayne Emperour (I haue
now forgotten his name) that
made a law, that whosoever com-
mitted a certayne offence (which
do not now neyther remem-
ber,) should suffer death, by be-
ing deuoured of wild beastes, ex-
cept it were a Virgin that of-
fended against the same, such
reuerence did he beare vnto Vir-
ginity. Now, it so fell out, that
the first who committed the of-
fence, was indeed a Virgin,
whereof the Emperour hearing,
was

was much perplexed because for the example of others, he would fayne haue had that Law put in execution. Whereupon when his Counsell had sate, and long debated the case, suddenly there arose vp one amongst the rest a good playne fellow, and said Why make you so much ado about this businesse, my Lordes? The matter seemes to me but small, and easy to be decided: For let her first be deflowered, and then afterwarde she may be deuoured.

And so my Honourable good Lords, though your Lordships haue in the matter of marriage hitherto kept your selues pure Virgins; yet take yee good heed you keepe your Virginity still. For there be some, who first by

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procuring your Lordshipps to
be present at the Coronation,
will next be egging you on, to
preach for the letting of it forth,
and finally compell you to pub-
lish Bookes vnto all the world
in defence therof. These are
they that be desirous to defloure
you, and then when they haue
defloured you, they will not
sooone after to deuoure
you. Now my Lordes, it lyeth
not in my power, but that they
may deuoure me; but God, be-
ing still my good Lord, I will so
prouide, that they shall neuer
defloure me.

And had he not byn one in-
ed, who in all his actions, and
most great affairs as well for the
king as the realme during many
years, was euer free frō all cor-

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ruption,

ruption, by doing wrong, or taking bribes; it would without doubt in this so troublesome a tyme, of the Kings displeasure agaynst him, haue beene deeply layd to his charge, therby to haue found any the least hole in his coate. But he alwayes kept himselfe so cleare, euen of suspicion of any such thing, that no man was once able therwith to blemish him; although the same was shrewdly many times attempted, specially in the case of one *Parnell*, against whome *Syr Thomas More* whilst he was Lord Chancellour, in the suite of one *Vaugham* (*Parnells* aduerary) had passed a sentence or decree, by way of Iustice.

Whereupon *Parnell* made a most grieuous complaynt vnto

the

the King, that *Syr Thomas More* had, for passing of the forsaide decree, taken from the said *Vau- gham* (vnable for the Gowre to trauell abroad himselfe) by the handes of his wife, a fayre great gilded cup for a bribe. Vpo this accusation *Syr Thomas More* was by the Kings appointment, called before the whole body of the Counsell, where this matter was heynously laid to his charge. He forthwith confessed, that for asmuch as that cup was long after the passing of a foresaid decree, brought vnto him for a new yeares gift, he at the Gentlewomans importune pressing it vpon him, of courtesy refused not to receiue it.

Then the Earle of *Wileshire*, *Syr Thomas Bullen*, Father to
E 2 *Queene*

Queene Anne, a very great enemy to *Syr Thomas More*, and chiefe complainer of this business agaynst him to the King, with much reioycing said vnto the Lords there present: Loe, did I not tell you, my Lordes, that you shold find this matter true?

Whereupon when *Syr Thomas More* had stood silent a while, smyling vpon the Lord of *Wiltshire*, he at length earnestly desired their Lordships, that as they had courteously heard him tell the one part of his Tale, so they would be pleased to vouchsafe him the indifferent hearing of the other.

Then he further declared vnto their Honours, That albeit indeed, he had with much intreaty receyued the cup, yet immediately

mediatly thereupon he caused
his Butler to fill it with wyne,
and of that cup he dranke vnto
her, and she pledged him. Then
as freely as her husband had gi-
uen it vnto him, euen so, freely
gaue he the same backe agayne
to her; to giue vnto her husband
for his New-yeares gift, which
at his request (though much a-
gainst her will) she receyued
agayne; as herself and diuers o-
thers there present, were depo-
sed before them. So was this
great Mountayne, was turned
presently into Molehill.

So likewise at another time,
vpon a New yeares day, there
came vnto *Syr Thomas More* one
M.^{rs} Croker a rich widdow, for
whome with no small paynes,
he had passed a Decree in the

Chauncery, agaynst the Lord *Arundell*, to present him with a payre of gloues, and forty pounds in Angells within them for a New yeares gift. Of whom he thankfully receiuing the Gloues, but refusing the money said vnto her: Mistresse, since were agaynst good manners to refuse a Gentlewomans New yeares gift, I am content to take your Gloues, but for your Money I vtterly refuse it; & much against her mynd, he restored her the Gold backe agayne.

Another tyme also one *M^r Gresham* hauing a cause depending before him in the Chauncery, sent him for a New yeares gift a fayre Gilded cup: The fashion whereof he very well liking, caused one of his owne cups

cupps (though not to his mynd
of so good a fashon, yet much
better in value) to be brought
forth of his Chamber, which he
willed the Messenger in recom-
pence to redeliuer vnto his Mi-
stresse, for with other condition
he would in no wise receiue it.

Now when the King plainly
saw, that he could not by any
meanes wyn *Syr Thomas More*
to his syde, he went about by
terror, and threatens to inforce
him thereunto; the beginning
wherof, was occasioned, in this
manner. There was a certayne
Nunne dwelling in *Canterbury*,
commonly called *The holy Mayd*
of Kent, who for the exterior
shew of her Vertue, and Holi-
nesse, grew into great esteeme
amongst the common People

first, and then amongst others, and for that cause many Religious persons, many Doctors of Diuinity, and diuers others of very great accompt of the Layty vied to resort vnto her. This holy woman affirmed, to haue had a Reuelation from heauen, to giue the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the Sword and Authority committed vnto him by God; and vnderstanding, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Doctour *Fisher*, to be a man of notable vertuous life & great learning, she repayred to *Rochester*, and there disclosed to him her sayd Reuelation, desiring his aduice and counsell therein; which the Bishop well perceiuing might stand with the lawes of God, and holy Church,

adu-

hers. I advised her (as she before intended, and had warning to do) to go vnto the King herselfe, and declare vnto him, all the circumstances therof. Whereupon she went, and told vnto his Majesty her said Reuelation, and so returned home to *Canterbury*.

Within a short tyme after, this forsaide Holy Nunne, made a journey to the Monastery of *Sion* situated vpon the *Thames*, a litle above *London*, & by meanes of one *M. Reynolds*, a Father of the same house, visited the Religious therof. At which tyme it happened *Syr Thomas More* to be at *Sion* visiting some of his acquaintance there, & talking with the Nunne about some of her Reuelations, especially that which did concerne the Kings Supre-

macy and Marriage: which (he said) he might freely and safely do, without any daunger of the law, by reason the same was then neither established by Statute, nor confirmed by Oath (as he himselte had lōg before prognosticated, neuerthelesse in all the discourse, and passages of speech which he had with the said Nunne (as it afterward appeared) he had carried himselte so discreetly, that he rather deserued cōmendatiōs, thē blame.

At the Parlament following, there was a bill put vp for the attaynting of the forsaide Nunne of *Canterbury*, & of some other Monasticall persons, of High Treason: as also Bishop *Fisher* of *Rochester*, Syr *Thomas More*, and diuers others, of Misprision of

Trea-

Treason. With which the King verily thought *Syr Thomas More* would be so terrified, that it would inforce him to relent, & cōdescend to his purpose; wherein (as it seemed) his Grace was much mistaken.

To this Brill, *Syr Thomas More* was suiter to be receiued personally to make answer for himselfe in his owne defence. But the King not liking that, assigned the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chācellour, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and *M. Cromwell* at a day, and place appoynted, to call *Syr Thomas More* before them. At which tyme *M. Roper* thinking his Father had now fit opportunity, aduised him to labour these Lordes for the help of his discharge, forth of the

Parlament Bill, who answered
M. Roper, that he would.

At his comming before the
Lords, according to theyr ap-
poyntment, they intertayned
him very friendly, and willed
him to sit downe with them,
which in no wise he would. The
began the Lord Chancellour to
declare vnto him, how many
wayes the King had shewed his
loue and fauour towards him;
how gladly he would haue had
him continue in his Office; and
how willing he would haue ben
to haue heaped more Benefits
vpon him; how he could aske
no worldly Honour, or Profit at
the Kings handes, that was li-
kely to be denyed him; hoping
by this declaration of the Kings
faours towards him, to induce
him

vered him to fauour his Highnes bu-
hines of the mariage. And lastly
e the he requested his consent vnto
r ap- no more, but what the Parla-
yned ment, the Bishops, and Vniuersi-
willed tyes had allready admitted, and
hem, confirmed.

The To this *Syr Thomas More*
ou to milly made answere, saying;
many There is no man liuing, my
d his Lordes that would with better
him; will, do the thing that might be
e had acceptable to the Kings High-
g and nes then my selfe, who needes
e ben must cōfesse his manifold good-
efits nesse, and bountifull benefits,
aske most benignly bestowed vpon
fit at me: Howbeit I verily thought,
as li- that I should neuer haue heard
ping more of this matter, conside-
ings ring, that from time to time,
duce euen from the first beginning
him heer-

heerof I haue declared my mind
playnly & truly to his Majesty,
which his Highnes euer seemed
to me, like a most gracious Prince,
very well to accept, neuer
mynding (as he said) to molest
me further therewith. Since
which tyme I could neuer find
further matter, that was able to
moue me to any other change;
which if I could, there is not a
man in all the world that would
haue beene more glad therof,
then my selfe.

Many thinges more, of like
sort, were heere vttered on both
sides: and in the end when they
saw they could not by any man-
ner of perswasion, remoue him
from his former determination;
then they began to touch him
more neerely, telling him, that
the

mind the Kinges Maiesty had giuen
 Majesty them in commandemēt, if they
 seemed could by no gentle meanes wyn
 s Prin him, to charge him in his Name
 neuer with great Ingratitude, & that
 molest there was neuer found seruant
 Since to his Soueraigne so vngrate-
 find full, nor subiect to his Prince so
 ble to trayterous as he: for that by his
 an ge; subtle & sinister sleights he had
 not a most vnnaturally vrged, & pro-
 ould cured his Maiesty to set forth
 crof, a Booke, *Of the Assertion of the*
 seauen Sacraments, and mayn-
 like tayneance of the Popes Authori-
 both ty, and therby caused him, to
 they his great dishonour throughout
 nan- Christendome, to put a sword
 him into the Popes handes, to fight
 ion; agaynst himselfe.

him Now when they had thus laid
 that forth these, and all other such
 the like

like terrours & threatens which they could imagine agaynst him; My Lordes (quoth he) these be but Bugbeares, only to affright Children, and not me. But to answer that, wherewith you do chiefly accuse me, I verily believe that the Kings Highnes, out of his Honour, will neuer lay any such thing to my charge; for there is no man in the world, that can in that poynt, say more in my excuse, then his Maesty himselfe who knoweth right well, that I neuer was his procurer, or Counsellour therevnto, but after it was finished by his Highnes appoyntment, and consent of the makers therof, I only was made vse of, as a setter out, or a placer of some principall matters therein containd; wher-

wherein, when I found the Popes Authority so highly aduanced, and with so strong Arguments mightily defended, I said vnto his Grace: I must put your Highnes in remēbrance of one thing, and that is this, The Pope as your Highnes well knoweth is a Prince as you are, & in league with all other Christian Princes, it may hereafter so fall out, that your Highnes and he may vary vpon some poynts of league, whereupon may grow breach of amity. yea and warrs betwixt you; I thinke it therefore best that, that place be amended, & his Authority more aduisedly touched. Nay (quoth the King) that shall it not, for we are so much bound to the Sea of *Rome*, that we cannot do

to

to much honour thereunto The
did I further put his Maieſty in
remembrance of the Statute of
Premunire, wherby a great part
of the Popes Prouiſions, were
pared away. To that his Maieſty
answered, that whatſoeuer im-
pediment were to the contrary,
yet ſhould his Authority be
ſet forth to the vttermoſt: for
(quoth he) we receiued frō that
Sea, this our Crowne Imperially;
of which thing vntill his Gra-
ce told me with his own mouth
I neuer heard before. So that
I truſt when his Maieſty ſhalbe
once truly informed of this, and
call to remembrance my plaine
and honeſt dealing therein, his
Grace will neuer ſpeake of it
more, but rather quite cleere
me thereof himſelfe. Thus ended

ded the Assembly for that tyme,
& the Lords somewhat displea-
santly departed.

Then tooke *Syr Thomas More*
his boat homwards to his house
at *Chelsey*, togeather with *M. Roper*,
and by the way was very
pleasant. Which *M. Roper* see-
ing, was very glad therof, ho-
ping that he had gotten himselve
discharged out of the Parla ment
bill. When he was landed, and
come home to his house, they
went into his Garden, and there
walked togeather a good while.
Now *M. Roper* being very de-
sirous to know how he had sped,
said: I trust *Syr*, all his well, be-
cause you are so merry. It is so
indeed sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I
thanke our Lord God. Are you
then put out of the Parla ment
bill

bill Syr (quoth *M. Roper*) By my troth sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I neuer remembred it. Neuer remembred it, *Syr*, (quoth *M. Roper*) a matter that toucheth your selfe so neere, & all vs for your sake. Truly *Syr*, I am very sorry to heare it, for I verily hoped, when I saw you so merry, that all had ben well. Well, well Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) wilt thou know why I was so merry indeed? That would I gladly *Syr*, said *M. Roper*. In good Fayth, Sonne *Roper*, I reioyced that I had giuen the Deuill a foule fall, and that with these Lordes, I had gone so farre, as without great shame I could not go backe agayne. At which wordes *M. Roper* waxed sad, and then they went both in.

Now

Now, vpon the report made by the Lord Chancellour, and the other Lords, to the King of their former discourse, and proceedings with *Syr Thomas More*, the King was so highly offended with him, that he playnly told them, he was fully purposed that the aforesaid Parliament-Bill shold proceed forth agaynst him. To whome the Lord Chancellour, and the rest of the Lordes said, they perceiued the vpper House so precisely bent to heare him spake for himselfe, & to make answere in his owne defence, that if he were not put out of the bill, it would without fayle be reiected of all. But for all this, the King would needes haue his owne will therein, or else (quoth he) at the passing ther-

therof, I will my selfe be personally present. Then did the Lord Chancellour, and therewith (seeing him so vehemently bent therein) vpon their knees, beseech his Grace in most humble wise, to forbear the same considering, that if he should in his owne presence receiue an ouerthrow, it would not only encourage his Subiects euer after to contemne him; but also throughout all Christendome redound to his great dishonour. Adding thereunto, that they doubted not in tyme, to find some other matter against him which might serue his Maiesties purpose far better; for in this former busines, especially that of the Nunne, he is accompted (quoth they) so innocent and clear

cleare, that he is iudged of most men, rather worthy of praise, then reprehension. Whereupon at length, through their earnest perswasions the King was contented to yield himselfe to their counsell.

On the Morrow after, *M. Cromwell* meeting with *M. Roper* in the Parliament house, willed him to tell his Father, that he was put out of the Parliament Bill; which newes *M. Roper* sent home immediatly to his wife, willing her to make the same knowne to her Father. Whereof when he heard: In good fayth *Megge* (quoth he) *Quod differtur, non aufertur*. After this it happened that the Duke of *Norfolke* & *Syr Tho. More* met togeather, and falling into familiar talke,
the

the Duke said vnto him: By the
Maſſe *M. More*, it is perilous ſtri-
uing with Princes, & therefore
I would wiſh you ſomewhat to
inclyne to the Kings pleaſure:
For by Gods body, *M. More*, *In-*
dignatio Principis Mors eſt. Is
that all my Lord (quoth he?)
Then in good Fayth, there is no
more difference betweene your
Grace and me, but that I may
dye to day, & you to morrow.

In this Parlament was a ſta-
tute made for the Oath of Su-
premacy, and lawfullnes of the
Kings Marriage; and within a
while after all the Priests of Lō-
don, and Weſtminſter, & with
them *Syr Thomas More* only, &
no lay man beſides, were cited
to appeare at *Lambeth*, before
the Biſhop of Canterbury, the
Lord

Lord Chancellour, and Secretary *Cromwell*, Commissioners, appointed there to tender the Oath vnto them.

Vpon this strange citation *Syr Tho. More*, as his accustomed manner euer was, alwayes before he entred into any busines of importance (as when he was first chosen of the Kings priuy Councell, when he was sent *Embassador*, appointed Speaker of the Parliament-House, created Lord Chancellour, or when he tooke any weighty matter vpon him) prepared himselfe to Confession, heard Masse, and was housled, in the Morning, the selfe same day that he was to appeare before the Lordes at *Lambeth*.

And as he vsed often at other tymes of his departure from his

F

wife

wife and Children (whome he tenderly loued) to haue them bring him to his boate, & there to kisse them all, and bid them farwell; at this tyme he would not suffer any of them to follow him further then his gate, where with a heauy hart (as by his countenance appeared) he tooke his leaue of them, & with *M. Roper* and foure seruants entred into his boate, towards *Lambeth*: wherein sitting still sadly for a while, at last he rounded *M. Roper* in the eare, & said: Sonne *Roper*, I thanke our Lord God, the field is wōne. What he ment by that, they did not well vnderstand, yet loath to seeme ignorant, *M. Roper* said; Syr, I am very glad thereof. And as they after cōiectured, it was for that

that the loue he had to God, wrought in him so effectually, that it vtterly conquered all his carnall affections.

At his comming to *Lambeth*, he behaued himselfe so discretely before the Commissioners, at the ministration of the forsaide Oath, (as may be seene at large in certayne Letters of his sent to *M.^r Roper*, extant in a printed volume of his works) as they had litle, or nothing to lay vnto his charge; yet durst they not, as it seemed, dismisse him, but cōmitted him to the custody of the Abbot of *Westminster* for 4. or 5. dayes; during with tyme the King consulted with his Counsell, what order were best to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginning, it

was resolved that he should vpon his oath be discharged; yet did Queene *Anne*, through her importunate clamours, so farre preuaile with the King against him, that contrary to the Commissioners expectation, he was committed to the Tower.

Now, as he was conducted thitherward by water, wearing (as he commonly did) a chayne of gold about his Necke, *M. Richard Cromwell*, who had the charge of conueying him to prison, aduised him to send home his Chayne to his wife, or to some of his Childré. Nay (quoth he) that will I not, for if I were taken in the field by myne enemy, I would he should fare somewhat the better for me. At his landing at the Tower gate, *M.*
Lieut.

Lieutenant was ready there to receiue him, where the Gentleman Porter demanded of him his vpper garmēt. Why heere it is (quoth he) & presently tooke off his Cap, and deliuered it vnto him, saying; I am very sorry *M. Porter*, that it is no better for you. Nay (quoth the Porter) I must haue your Gowne *Syr*. O I cry you mercy, good *M. Porter*, for now indeed I remember, that my Cappe is not my vpper garmēt, but only the thatch of my poore old Tenement.

So then was he by *M. Lieutenant* conueyed to his Lodging, where he called vnto him one *Iohn Wood* his owne seruant, appointed there to attend him, who could neither write nor reade, and swore him before

the Lieutenant, that if he should heare or see at any time, his Maister write, or speake any manner of thing agaynst the King, Councell, or State of the land, he should reueale it to the Lieutenant, that the Lieutenant might make the same knowne to the Councell.

After he had remayned in the Tower about a moneth, his daughter *Roper* (hauing greatly desired to see her Father) made earnest suite, & got leave to visit him: at whose coming (after the saying of the seauen Psalmes & Letanyes, which he was euer accustomed to say with her) before they fell into discourse of any other matter, among other speeches he said vnto her: I be- lieue *Megge*, that they who haue
put

put me heere, thinke they haue
done me a great displeasure: But
I assure thee on my fayth (myne
owne good daughter) if it had
not ben for my wife & you my
Children, whome I accōpt the
chiefe part of my charge, I
would not haue failed long ere
now, to haue inclosed my selfe
in a straiter roome then this.
But since I am come hither,
without myne owne desert, I
trust that God of his goodnes
will disburden me of my care,
and with his gracious help sup-
ply my want amongst you. And
I find no cause (I thanke God
Megge) to reckon my selfe in
worse case heere, then in myne
owne house. For me thinkes in
this case, God maketh me euen
a wanton, setting me vpon his

Thus by his patient suffering, and cheerfull demeanour in all his tribulations and disasters, it plainly appeared, that nothing seemed painfull vnto him, but rather a profitable Exercise, for the good of his soule. Then whē he had questioned a while with his daughter about his wife Children, and household state in his absence, he asked her how Queene *Anne* did? Neuer better Father (quoth she.) Neuer better *Megge* (quoth he:) Alas, alas, it pittieeth me to remember into what misery (poore Soule) she will shortly come.

After this, M. Lieutenant coming one to day his chamber to visit him, & recounting the many courtesies, and benefits that he had

had heertofore receiued at his hands, and therefore how much the more bound he was to entertayne him friendly, & make him good chere, which, the case standing as it did, he could not (as he would) do, without the Kings high displeasure, & therefore hoped he would accept of his good will, and of such poore cheere as he had. Maister Lieutenant (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) now verily I belieue, all you haue said to be true, for which I do most hartily thanke you. And assure your selfe, M Lieutenant, when you see me mislike my cheere, then thrust me out of your doores, as a very vn-thankefull Guest.

Now wheras the Oath aboue mentioned made to confirme

the K. Supremacy & mariage, was cōprised in very few wordes, the Lord Chauncellour & Secretary *Cromwell* did of their owne heads, adde more words vnto it, to make it appeare of more force, and to sound better in the Kings eare: which Oath so amplified, they had caused to be ministred to *Syr Thomas More*, & to al others throught the Kingdome. The which *Syr Thomas More* perceiuing said one day to his daughter *Roper*: I may tell thee *Megge*, they that committed me hither for refusing the Oath, not agreable to the Statute, are not by their own law able to iustify my imprisonment. And surely Daughter, it is great pittie, that any Christian Prince should, by so flexible a

Coun.

Counsell ready to follow his affections, & by so weake a Clergy wanting grace to stand constantly to their Religion, with flattery be so grossely abused. But at length the Lord Chancellour, & M. Secretary espying their owne ouersight in that behalfe, were glad afterwards to find a meanes that another Statute should be made for the confirmation of the sayd Oath so amplified, with theyr additions.

And wheras *Syr Thomas More* had made a conueyance for the disposing of his lādes, reseruing onely vnto himselfe, an estate for terme of life, and after his descease some part therof to his wife & children, & other some to his Sonne *Ropers* wife, for a

ioynure, in consideration she was an Inheritresse in possession of more then a hundred pounds by the yeare : And likewise other some to *M. Roper* & his wife in recompence of their marriage money, with diuers remaynders ouer and besides : All which cōueyances and assurances, being made and finished longe before any matter (wherof he was attaynted) could be made an offence : yet by Statute were they now all clearely auoyded , and all the lands that he had in such sort assured vpon his wife and children by the sayd cōueyāces (cōtrary to order of the lawes) taken from them , and forfayted into the Kings handes , except only that portion which he had assured vpo *M. Roper* & his wife

wife, by reasoⁿ that after the first conueyance, which was reserved to himselfe for the terme of his life, he had, vpon further consideration, within two dayes after, by another conueyance giuen the same immediatly to *M. Roper* and his wife, in present possession. So as the Statute had only auoyded the first conueyance, forfaiting no more vnto the King the had byn passed therein; and the second conueyance passed to *M. Roper* and his wife (being dated two dayes after) falling without the compasse of the law, was adiudged good, and valide.

Syr Thomas More being now prisoner in the Tower, and one day looking forth at his window, saw a Father of *Syon* (named

M. *Rynolds*) and three monkes
of the Charterhouse, going out
of the Tower to execution, for
that they had refused the Oath
of Supremacy: wherupō, he lan-
guishing it were with desyre to
beare them company sayd vn-
to his daughter *Koper* then pre-
sent: Looke *Megge*, dost thou
not see that these blessed Fathers
be now going as cherefully to
their deathes, as Bridegromes
to their marriages? By which
thou mayst see (myne owne
dere daughter) what a great dif-
ference there is between such as
haue spent all theyr dayes in a
religious, hard, and penitentiall
life, and such as haue, in this
world, like wretches (as thy
poore Father heere hath done)
consume all their tyme in plea-
sure

sure and ease. For which God,
out of his gracious Goodnes wil
no longer suffer them to remayne
hee in this vale of misery and
iniquity, but will speedily tran-
slate them hēce into the fruitiō
of his euerlasting Deity. Where-
as thy filly Father, *Megge*, who
like a most wicked caytiffe hath
passed the whole course of his
miserable life most sinfully God
thinking him not worthy to
attayne so soone thereunto,
leaueth here him in the world,
to be further tryed, plunged, &
and turmoyled in misery.

Within a whyle after, *M.*
Secretary came to him from the
King, and pretending much
friendship towards him said,
that the Kings Highnes was his
good and gracious Lord, not
myn-

mynding any matter thencefor-
ward, wherein he should haue
caule of scruple to trouble his
conscience. As soone as M. Se-
cretary was departed to expresse
what comfort he receiued of his
speeches, he tooke a coale (for
pen & inke then he had none)
& wrote these lynes following .

*Eye-fluttering Fortune, looke thou
n'ere so fayre,*

*Nor n'ere soe pleasantly, begin to
smyle,*

*As though thou wouldst my ruines
all repayre ;*

*During my life thou shalt not me
beguile.*

*Trust I shall, God, to enter in a while
Thy Heauen of Heauens, sure and
uniforme.*

*Euer after a calme, locke I for a
storme.*

Now

Now *Syr Thomas More*, had continued almost six weekes in the Tower, before the Lady his wife could obteyne licence to visit him. Who at her first coming to him (like a good simple worldly woman) bluntly saluted him in this manner: What a good-care *M. More*, I meruaile that you, who haue ben alwayes hitherto taken for so wise a man, will now so play the foole to ly here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be thus shut vp amongst mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the fauour and good will both of the King and his Counsell, if you would but do as all the Bishops, & best learned of the Realme haue done? And since you haue at *Chel-*
sey

sey a right fayre house, your Library, your Bookes, your Garden, your Orchard, & all other necessaryes had some about you where also you might, in the cōpany of me your wife, Children and household be merry; I muse what a Gods Name you meane thus fōdly to tarry here?

After he had a while quietly heard her, with a cheerefull countenance he said vnto her. I pray thee good *Mrs Alice* tell me one thinge. What is that, quoth she? Is not this house as neere Heauen as myne owne? whereto after her accustomed homely fashion, not liking such speaches she answered: *Tille-valle, Tille-valle*. How say you *Mrs. Alice*, is it not so (quoth he?) *Bene Deus, bone Deus*, man, will your

old

old Tricks neuer be left (quoth she againe?) Well then *M.^{rs}* *Alice*, said he, if it be so, it is very well; for I see no great cause, why I should ioy much either in my gay house, or in any thing belonging thereunto, when as if I should but liue seauen yeares vnder ground, and then rise againe and come thither, I should not fayle to find some dwelling therein, that would bid me get out of doores, & tell me it were none of myne. What cause then haue I to loue such a house, as would so soone forget his old Maister? So as her perswasions moued him nothing at all.

Not lōg after this there came vnto him, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Norfolke*, and *Susfolke*, with Maister Secretary, and

and diuers of the priuy Counsell, at two seuerall tymes, who vsed all possible policy to procure him either precisely to confesse the Supremacy, or directly to deny it. Whereunto (as appeareth by the booke of his Examinations) they could neuer bring him, or iustly taxe him for the contrary.

Shortly heereupon, one *M. Rich* (created afterwarde Lord *Rich*) that then was newly made the Kings Sollicitour, *Syr Richard Southwell*, & one *M. Palmer* seruant to the Secretary, were sent vnto *Syr Thomas More* vnder colour of fetching his Bookes away from him. And whilst *Syr Richard Southwell*, and *M. Palmer* were busy in packing them vp, *M. Rich* pretended

ding

ding friēdly discourse with him,
amongst other things (of set pur-
pose as it seemed) said thus vn-
to him: For as much as it is well
knowne *M. More*, that you are
a man both wise, and well lear-
ned, as well in the lawes of the
Realme, as otherwise, I pray
you therefore, let me in cour-
tesy, and good will be so bold to
put you this case. Admit there
were *Syr* (quoth he) an Act of
Parlament, that all the King-
dome should take me for King,
would not you then *M. More*,
take me for King? Yes marry,
(quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that
would I. Then I put case further
(quoth *M. Rich*: Admit there
were an Act of Parlament, that
all the Realme should take me
for Pope, would not you then

M.

M. More take me for Pope ? For answer (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) to your first case , the Parliament may well (*M. Rich*) meddle with the state of temporal Princes; but to make answer to your later case : Suppose the Parliament would make a law, that God should not be God: would you *M. Rich* , then say, that God were not God ? No *Syr* (quoth he) that would I not. No more (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) as *M. Rich* after reported of him , could the Parliament make the King supreme head of the Church. And so *M. Rich*, with the rest departed.

Now vpon the only report of this speech *Syr Thomas More* was indited of Treason , vpon the Statute, whereby it was made

Treason

Treason to deny the King to be
supreme head of the Church:
into which Inditement, were
put these heynous words, *Ma-
liciously, Traitrousy, and Diaboli-
cally*. Whereupon presently after
he was brought frō the Tower
to answeare the Inditement at
the Kings Bench barre; & being
there arraigned before the Iud-
ges, he openly told thē; That he
could be content to haue abid-
den the rigour of the law by
this their inditement, but then
he should therby be driuen to
confesse falsely of himselfe the
matter indeed, which was the
denyall of the Kings Suprema-
cy, and which he protested was
most vnttrue. Wherefore he plea-
ded therto not guilty, and so re-
serued vnto himselfe aduantage

to be taken of the body of the matter, after verdict, to auoyd that Inditement. And moreouer he added; That if these only odious tearmes *Maliciously, Trayterously, & Diabolically* were left out of the Inditement, he saw nothing therin, wherwith iustly to charge him.

Then for prooffe alleaged vnto the Iury, that *Syr Thomas More* was guilty of this Treason, *M. Rich* was called forth, to giue euidence vpon his Oath, as he did against him. To whome, hauing thus sworne, *Syr Thomas More* spake in this wise: If this Oath of yours be true *M. Rich*, then I pray God, that I may neuer see him in the face in his Kingdome; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gayne the

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the whole world. Then recounted he to the Court, the whole discourse, of all their Conference, and putting of Cases in the Tower, according to the Truth. And turning to *M. Rich* he said: In good fayth *M. Rich*, I am more sory for your Periury then for myne owne perill. And besides, you shall vnderstand, that neither I, nor any man else to my knowledge, euer tooke you to be a man of such credit, as to communicate vnto you any matter of importance; and (you well know) I haue ben acquainted with you no small while, and haue knowne you, & your Conuersation from your very youth; for we dwelled long together in one Parish, where, as your selfe can tell best, (I am sory you compell me so to say)

you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great Dicer, and of no commendable Fame, or Name: Can it therefore seeme likely to your Lordships, that I would in so weighty a matter, so vnadvisedly ouershoot my selfe, as to trust *M. Rich* (a man reputed alwayes by me, and others for one of litle truth, as your Lordships haue heard, so farre, aboue my Soueraigne the King, or aboue any of his noble Counsellours, that I would vtter vnto him the secrets of my Conscience, touching the Kings Supremacy? The speciall poynt and only marke so long aymed at in all my actions? The thing which I neuer did, or euer wold offer to the Kings Maiesty himselfe, or to any of his Honorable Counsell, as it is not vnknowne

knowne vnto your Honours,
who sundry tymes haue byn
sent vnto me, into the Tower
from his Highnes owne person,
for no other purpose? Can this
in your Iudgments, my Lords,
seeme to stand with truth, in
any likelyhood? And yet if I had
so laide indeed (my Lordes) as
M. Rich hath falsly sworne, since
it was spoken, as he sayth, in fa-
miliar talke, affirming nothing,
and only in putting of cases,
without other displeasing cir-
cumstances, it cannot iustly be
taken to be spoken *Maliciously*,
and where there is no *Malice*,
there can be no *Offence*.

And Besides this (my Lor-
des,) I can neuer thinke, that
so many worthy Bishops, so ma-
ny honourable Personages, and
so many other worshipfull, wise

and well learned men, as were assembled at the making of that Law in the Parliament, euer meant to haue any man punished by death, in whome there could be found no *Malice*: for if *Malice* be taken for *Sinne* generally, then is there no man that can excuse himselfe therof: *Si Dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus &c.* And as for the terme *Maliciously*, it is not in this Statute to be taken for *Materiall*; as in like case you know the terme *Forcible*, is meant in *Forcible Entry*; by which Statute if a man enter *patiently*, and put not his Aduersary out *forcibly*, it is no offence; but if he put him out *forcibly*, by that Statute it is an Offence, and so shalbe punished by this Terme *forcible*.

More-

Moreouer (my Lords) the manifold goodnes of the Kings Highnes himselfe, who hath ben so many wayes my singular good Lord, &c gracious soueraygne, who hath alwaies so deerly affected me, and euen at my first coming vnto his Royal seruice, aduaced me to the dignity of his Honourable priuy Counsell, vouchsasing to admit me afterward to Offices of great credit and Honour, and lastly, to exalt me to that weighty roome of his Maiestyes high Chauncellour, (the like whereof he neuer did to any temporal man his subiect before) next to his owne Royal person the highest Office in this noble kingdome, so farte aboue my merit or desert, and this for the space of aboue twenty years together, shewing his continu-

all fauour towards me, vntill at
 myne owne poore suite (giuing
 me his gracious licence to be-
 stow the litle residue of my life,
 in the seruice of God, for the
 good of my soule) it pleased his
 Highnes of his especiall good-
 nes, to discharge and disburden
 me therof: now all this his high-
 nes fauour (I say) thus boūtifully
 extended, & so long continued
 towards me considered, as it
 ought, in my mind is sufficient
 to cōuince this slaunderous sur-
 mise of *M. Rich*, so wrongfully
 sworne agaynst me.

When *Syr Thomas More* had
 thus spoken, *M. Rich* seing him-
 selfe so disproued, and his credit
 so fōuly disgraced, caused *Syr*
Richard Southwell, & *M. Palmer*
 who were also present at the
 time of their Conference in his

Syr Tho. More. 151

Chamber) to be sworne, what wordes had passed betwixt the. Whereupon *M. Palmer* vpon his deposition said; That he was so busy, in putting vp *Syr Thomas Mores* Bookes into a sacke, that he tooke no heed of their speeches. *Syr Richard Southwell* likewise vpon his deposition said; That because he was only appointed to looke vnto the conveyance of his Bookes, he gaue no great eare vnto what they sayd.

After this, many other reasons & arguments were alleadged by *Syr Thomas More*, in defence of his owne Innocency, & to the discredit of *M. Rich*, in the forsaide point; Notwithstanding all which, the Iury found him guilty, and immediatly vpon their verdict, the Lord Chancelour (for that businesse there

chiefe commissioner) beginning to proceed to Iudgment against him, *Syr Tho. More* said vnto him.

My Lord, when I my selfe was towardes the Law, the manner in such cases was, to aske the Prisoner before sentence of Cōdemnatiō, why Iudgmēt should not be giuē agaynst him? Wherevpon the Lord Chācellour staying the sentence (wherein he had partly begun to proceed) demanded of him, What he was able to say for himselfe, to the contrary? Then *Syr Tho. More*, in this sort, most humbly made answer.

For asmuch as, my Lordes, (quoth he) this Iudgment is grounded vpon an Act of Parliament directly repugnāt to the lawes of God & his holy Church the supreme gouernement of which

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which, or any part thereof, no
temporall Prince may presume
by any temporall law, to take
vpon him, as rightfully belong-
ing to the Sea of Rome; a spiri-
tuall preheminance conferred,
and granted, by the mouth of
our sauour himselfe, being per-
sonally present vpon the Earth,
only vnto *S. Peter* the Apostle,
and his lawfull Successors, Bi-
shops of the same Sea, by special
prerogatiue; It is not therefore
sufficient inough for one Chri-
stian Catholike man to charge,
and conuince another Christian
Catholike man, & say, that this
Realme of *England* (being but a
member, & a small part only of
the Church of Christ) hath
power and authority to make a
particular law, disagreeable to
the generall law of Christs Vni-
uersall

uerfall Catholique Church; no more then the Citty of London, being but one poore member in respect of the whole Kingdome, might make a law agaynst an Act of Parlamēt, to bind the whole Realme. And further he shewed, that it was cōtrary both to the ancient Lawes, & Statutes of our owne Realme, not the repealed, as they might well see in *Magna Carta; Quod Ecclesia libera sit, & habeat omnia iura integra, & libertates suas illasas*; and contrary likewise to that sacred Oath, which the Kings Highnes himselfe, and euery other Christian Prince of this realme with great Solemnity, hath euer taken at their Coronation. Allea-
ging moreouer, that no more might this Realme of England refuse obedience to the Sea of
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Rome, then the child might refuse Obedience to his naturall Father: for as *S. Paul* sayth of the *Corinthians*, *I haue regenerated you my Children in Christ*; so might holy *S. Gregory Pope of Rome*, of whome (by *S. Augustine* his messenger) we Englishmen first receiued the Christian fayth, truly say, *You are my Children, because I haue giuen you euerlasting saluation* (a farre, and better, & more noble Inheritance, then any carnall Father can leaue to his Children) & by regeneration made you my Children in Christ.

To this speech of *Syr Thomas More* the Lord Chancellor answered; That seeing all the Bishops, Vniuersities, & best learned of the Realme, had to this Act of Parliament agreed, it was very greatly to be admired,

that he alone, agaynst them all, would so stify sticke, and argue so vehemently against it.

To this *Syr Thomas More* againe replyed, saying: If the number of Bishops and Vniuersities be so materiall, as your Lordship seemeth to take it; then I see little cause, my Lord, why that thing should make any change at all in my Cōscience. For I nothing doubt (though not in this Realme, yet in Christendome round about, the number of learned men and Bishops to be farre greater, who will defend and maintayne the contrary; and therefore am I not bounden to conforme my cōscience to the Councell of one Kingdome, against the generall Councell of Christendome.

Now, when *Syr Thomas More* for

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for the auoyding of the Indite-
ment had taken as many exce-
ptions as he thought fit, the
Lord Chancellour loath to haue
the burden of that Iudgment
wholy to depend vpon himsel-
fe there openly asked the aduise
of the Lord *Fitz-James* (then
Lord chiefe Iustice of the Kings
Bench and ioyned in commis-
sion with him) whether this In-
ditement were sufficient or no.
Who, like a discreet man, an-
swered: My Lordes (quoth he)
by *S. Iulian* (that was euer his
oath) I must needs cōfesse, that
if the Act of Parliament be not
vnlawfull, then is not the Indi-
tement in my conscience insuf-
ficient. Whereupon the Lord
Chancellour said to the rest of
the Commissioners ; Loe my
Lordes, you all heare what my
Lord

Lord chiefe Iustice sayth, & so immediatly he gaue Iudgment. Which being done the commissioners, yet further offered him curteously, all fauourable audience, if he would speake: who answered; I haue no more to say my Lords, but that, like as the Blessed Apostle *S. Paul* (as we read in the Acts of the Apostles) was present, and consented to the death of *S. Stephen*, & kept their clothes that stoned him to death, and are now both ho y Saintes in heauen; so I verily trust, and shall right hartly pray, that though your Lordships haue now heere in earth byn Iudges to my Condemnation, yet may we hereafter meete all together in euerlasting glory.

After his condemnation he
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departed from the Barre towards the Tower agayne, led by *Syr William Kingston* (a tall strong and comely knight) Constable of the Tower, & his very deere friend, who when he had brought him a part of the way towards the Tower, with a heavy heart, the teares running downe his cheekes, bad him farwell. The which *Syr Thomas More* seeing, comforted him with as good words as he could, saying: Good M. *Kingston*, trouble not your selfe, but be of good cheere, for I will pray for you, and my good Lady your wife that we may meete together in Heauē, where we shalbe merry for euer and euer. And a little after *Syr William Kingston* meeting with M. *Roper* said: In good fayth M. *Roper*, I was ashamed of my selfe
that

that at my departure from your Father, I found my selfe so feeble, and he so strong, that he was fayne to cōfort me, who should rather haue comforted him.

As *Syr The. More* came neere vnto the Tower, his Daughter *Roper* desirous to see her Father once more before his death, and to receaue his last blessing, gaue attendance about the Tower-wharfe, where he was to passe, & so soone as she saw him, hastning vnto him, without respect or care of herselfe, pressed in among the throng of the Guard, that with halbard's went round about him, and there openly in the sight of all asking him blessing on her knees imbrac't him, tooke him about the necke, and kissed him. Who with a merry countenance, nothing at all de-

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deiected, gaue her his Fatherly blessing, with many Godly wordes of comfort, & thē departed.

So remayned he in the Tower more then eight dayes after his condemnation, from whence, the day before he suffered, he sent his shirt of hayre (not willing to haue it seene) to his said Daughter *Roper*, and a Letter written with a cole (printed in the aforesaid booke of his workes) expressing playnly the feruent desyre he had to suffer on the Morrow, in these wordes following: I comber you, good *Margaret* very much, but I wold be torry if it should be any longer, then to Morrow; for to Morrow is *S. Thomas* of Canterbury his Eue, & the O^aue of *S. Peter*, & therfore to Morrow long I to go to God; it were
a day

a day very meete, and conuenient for me. I neuer liked your manner better towards me, then when you last imbraced me, and when daughterly loue, and deare charity, haue no leasure to looke towards worldly courtesy.

Vpon the next Morrow, according as he wished, early in the morning there came vnto him *Syr Thomas Pope*, his singular good friend, with a message from the King and Counsell, that he must before nine of the clocke, the same morning, suffer death, and that he should forthwith prepare himself thereto. *M. Pope* (quoth he) for your good tydings, I most hartily thanke you. I haue alwayes been much bound to the Kings highnes, for the many benefits, and

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honours that he hath still from
tyme to tyme most bountifully
heaped vpon me; especially that
it hath pleased his Maiesty, to
put me here in this place, where
I haue had conuenient tyme and
leasure to remember my last
End; and now most of all am I
bound vnto his Grace, that I
shall be so shortly rid out of the
miseries of this wretched life, &
therefore will I not fayle to pray
earnestly for his Grace, both
heere & in the other world also.

The Kings pleasure is fur-
ther (quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*) that
at your execution you shall not
use many words. *M. Pope* (quoth
he) you do well to giue me war-
ning of the Kings pleasure, for
otherwise I might haue of-
fended his Maiesty agaynst my
will. I had indeed purposed at
that

that tyme, to haue spoken some
 what, but of no matter of offence
 to his Grace; neuertheles what
 soeuer I intended, I am ready to
 conforme my selfe obediently
 to his commandement. And I
 beseech you, good *M. Pope*, be a
 means vnto his Maiesty that my
 daughter *Margaret* may be at my
 Buriall. The King is contented
 already (quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*)
 that your wife, children, and o-
 ther of your Friends haue liber-
 ty to be present therat. O how
 much am I bound vnto his gra-
 ce (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that
 vouchsafeth to haue so gracious
 a consideration of my poore Bu-
 riall. Whereupō *Syr Tho. Pope* ta-
 king his leaue, could not forbear
 weeping: which *Syr Tho. More*
 perceyuing, comforted him in
 this wise. Quiet your selfe good

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M. Pope, and be not discomfor-
ted, for I trust we shall one day
see each other in heauē, where we
shal be sure to liue, and loue to-
gether in ioyfull blisse eternally.

Vpon Syr Thomas Popes depar-
ture, he changed himselfe into
his best apparel, as one that had
bin inuited to some solēne feast,
which M. Lieutenant leing, adui-
sed him to put it off, saying, that
he that was to haue it, was but a
lauell. What M. Lieutenant (quoth
he) shall I accompt him a lauell,
that shall do me this day so sin-
guler a benefit? Nay I assure you,
were it cloth of Gold, I would
accompt it very well bestowed
vpon him, as S. Cyprian did, who
gaue to his Executioner, thirty
peeces of Gold. Yet through the
Lientenants persuations he alte-
red his Apparell, and after the

Exam-

Exāple of the forsayd holy Martyr, he gaue that litle money he had left, to his Executioner, which was one Angell of Gold.

Then was he by *M. Lieutenānt* brought out of the Tower, & frō thence led towards the place of Execution, vpon the Tower-hil, where going vp the Scaffold which was weake, & ready to fall, he said smilingly to *M. Lieutenānt*: I pray you, good *M. Lieutenānt* see me safe vp, & for my coming downe let me shift for my selfe. Then desired he all the people about him to pray for him, & to beare witnesse, that he should now there suffer death in, & for the fayth of the Holy Catholique Church. Which done he kneeled downe, and after his prayers sayd he turned to the Executioner, & with a cherefull

coun-

countenance spake thus merrily
vnto him: Plucke vp thy spirits
man, and be not afrayd to do
thyne Office: my necke is some-
what short, therefore take heed
thou strikest not awry, for sa-
uing of thyne honesty: but if
thou doest, vpon my word I wil
not heerafter cast it in thy teeth.
So, at one stroke of the Execu-
tioner, passed *Syr Thomas More*
out of this world, to God, vpon
the same day, which himselfe
had most desired. 6. Iulij. 1535.

Soone after his death, intelli-
gence therof came vnto the Em-
perour *Charles* the fifth, where-
vpon he sent for *Syr Thomas E-*
liot, then Embassadour there, &
said vnto him: My Lord Embas-
sadour, we vnderstand, that the
King your Maister hath put his
faythfull seruant, & graue Coun-
sel-

follow to death, *Syr Thomas*
Elton. Whereunto *Syr Thomas*
Elton answered, that he had heard
 nothing thereof. Well (quoth
 the Emperour) it is too true, &
 this will I say, that if I had byn
 Master of such a Seruant (of
 whose counsailes, and perfor-
 mance in State matters my selfe
 haue had these many yeaes no
 small experience) I would ra-
 ther haue lost the best Citty of
 my dominions, the such a wor-
 thy Counsellour. Which speech
 of the Emperour was afterward
 related by *Syr Thomas Elton* vnto
M. William Roper, & his wife, be-
 ing with him at supper, in the
 presence of one *M. Clement*, *M.*
Heywood, and their wiues.

THE END